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NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL

MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA

THESIS

THE ROLE OF NATO AND THE EU
IN RESOLVING FROZEN CONFLICTS

by

Kevin G. Kennelly

December 2006

Thesis Co-advisors:

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REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE			<i>Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188</i>	
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1. AGENCY USE ONLY (Leave blank)		2. REPORT DATE December 2006	3. REPORT TYPE AND DATES COVERED Master's Thesis	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE The Role of NATO and the EU in Resolving Frozen Conflicts			5. FUNDING NUMBERS	
6. AUTHOR: Kevin G. Kennelly				
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, CA 93943-5000			8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING /MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) N/A			10. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY REPORT NUMBER	
11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES The views expressed in this thesis are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the Department of Defense or the U.S. Government.				
12a. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for Public Release; Distribution is Unlimited			12b. DISTRIBUTION CODE A	
13. ABSTRACT (maximum 200 words) <p>On Europe's periphery lie a number of unresolved conflicts and unrecognized states, most of which emerged during the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Due to their remote and strategically insignificant nature, they were largely ignored by the West as it peacefully integrated Central and Eastern Europe into the community of liberal democracies. Russia utilized the lack of international concern to prolong the conflicts in Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Transnistria, and Nagorno-Karabakh and destabilize the smaller states emerging from the Soviet Union. In 1974 Turkey acted in a similar manner in Northern Cyprus. The conflicts exploit a fundamental ambiguity in international law between sovereignty and self-determination.</p> <p>This study shows that NATO and the EU have the ability to resolve frozen conflicts through their influence on the third parties that are preserving them. Unlike earlier solutions made only by one or two great powers, NATO and the EU represent the majority of established democracies in the world. As they share common values, they can reach consensus on policy actions unlike the UN or OSCE. As large organizations of democratic states, they possess creditability that no other institution or great power combination has ever had before. They also have the military capability to support policy choices. Furthermore, Russia and Turkey have a record of submitting to well-coordinated Western policy and exploiting differences in it if such coordination is lacking.</p>				
14. SUBJECT TERMS Frozen Conflict, Russia, NATO, EU, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Transnistria, Nagorno-Karabakh, Northern Cyprus, Kosovo, Chechnya			15. NUMBER OF PAGES 115	
			16. PRICE CODE	
17. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF REPORT Unclassified	18. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE Unclassified	19. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF ABSTRACT Unclassified	20. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT UL	

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**THE ROLE OF NATO AND THE EU IN RESOLVING
FROZEN CONFLICTS**

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MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

from the

**NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL
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ABSTRACT

On Europe's periphery lie a number of unresolved conflicts and unrecognized states most of which emerged during the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Due to their remote and strategically insignificant nature, they were largely ignored by the West as it peacefully integrated Central and Eastern Europe into the community of liberal democracies. Russia utilized the lack of international concern to prolong the conflicts in Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Transnistria, and Nagorno-Karabakh and destabilize the smaller states emerging from the Soviet Union. In 1974 Turkey acted in a similar manner in Northern Cyprus. The conflicts exploit a fundamental ambiguity in international law between sovereignty and self-determination.

This study shows that NATO and the EU have the ability to resolve frozen conflicts through their influence on the third parties that are preserving them. Unlike earlier solutions made only by one or two great powers, NATO and the EU represent the majority of established democracies in the world. As they share common values, they can reach consensus on policy actions unlike the UN or OSCE. As large organizations of democratic states, they possess creditability that no other institution or great power combination has ever had before. They also have the military capability to support policy choices. Furthermore, Russia and Turkey have a record of submitting to well-coordinated Western policy and exploiting differences in it if such coordination is lacking.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my instructors and colleagues at NPS for all of their help and support. Professors Mikhail Tsypkin and Donald Abenheim especially have been the source of much aid and entertainment throughout my year and a half. So too have Mike, Buff, Brax, Brian, Trigger, Lea and the rest of the gang.

More than anyone else, I would like to thank Lisa, Colton, and Ransom for their patience. While not infinite, it was remarkable and helpful to an enormous degree. I love you all and hate it when I have to spend time away from you. Thank you for your support.

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I. THE ROLE OF NATO AND THE EU IN RESOLVING FROZEN CONFLICTS

The West's management of the collapse of communism removed the threat of catastrophic war in Europe. NATO and the European Union's stewardship of Central and Eastern Europe contributed substantially to this end. With the conclusion of Yugoslavia's death throes, state-to-state conflict appears to have departed the continent altogether. However, just beyond the frontiers of the EU and NATO lie a number of conflicts that remain unresolved—often referred to as frozen conflicts.

Most of the frozen conflicts in Europe stand along the fringe of the former Soviet Union. There are three areas in the Caucasus uncontrolled by the nation-state whose sovereign borders contain them: Abkhazia, South Ossetia, and Nagorno-Karabakh. In addition to the Caucasus, Transnistria also exercises de facto independence over a section of Moldova. Chechnya endures as more of a low intensity guerrilla war than a frozen conflict, but retains many elements of a frozen conflict. Kosovo is an example of how international intervention can solve a frozen conflict, yet Russia prevents its final resolution. Finally, Cyprus is a frozen conflict that has remained for more than 30 years, and has allowed two populations to diverge to a possibly irreconcilable level. It serves as a warning to Europe as to what may happen if it fails to impose a solution on such a situation.

The common strand between the conflicts is a third party that prevents resolution. The third party, Russia or Turkey can be influenced by a united EU/NATO policy. When the EU and NATO members do unite their policy and enforce it with resolute measures, the third party that is preventing the solution to the conflicts backs down.

Russia and Turkey are currently experiencing a surge in nationalism and anti-Western sentiments. While the current trend of distancing themselves from the West will make solutions more difficult to impose, they are a short term trend that will change over the next five to ten years. Putin has stated that he will not try to amend the constitution to run for a third term, and his popularity is currently buoyed by the energy market's success. As he leaves office and Russia's increasing energy consumption, low levels of exploration, and dramatic inefficiencies move to cut into Russia's profits, Russia will migrate back to Western influence. Turkey's anti-Western attitude will also drift back toward the West as problems in the Middle East gradually stabilize and conflicts with EU accession slowly settle. As these events take place, the opportunity to resolve the frozen conflicts will occur.

A. WHY CONFLICTS BECOME FROZEN

Though never formally defined, the term "frozen conflict" originated in the 1990s to describe conflicts, mostly around the former Soviet Union that had reached a stalemate due partly to outside influences.¹ Two conditions seem to be necessary for a conflict to become frozen. The first is a third party that is significantly more powerful than the two warring parties. The second requirement is that the conflict must take place in a strategically insignificant place.

1. Third Party Involvement

Frozen conflicts are unlikely to occur in Europe unless there is a regional power that intervenes on the losing side. This third party can intervene and settle the conflict as NATO did multiple times in Yugoslavia or act to preserve it as Russia and Turkey have done in the various frozen conflicts. For instance, in

¹ Editorial, "Anniversary Report Card," *Christian Science Monitor*, Boston, Mass, Oct 23, 1995, 20.

Abkhazia and South Ossetia without Russian support, both of these regions would have been re-annexed to Georgia. The same is true with Moldova in Transnistria. Had Turkey not intervened in Cyprus, all of Cyprus would either be united under Greek Cypriot leadership or annexed to Greece. Russia also exerts diplomatic pressure on the west preventing the resolution of the Kosovo issue.

The other two cases are interesting and different. In Nagorno-Karabakh Turkey originally intervened with support and threats to prevent an Armenian victory. Isolated, Armenia appealed to Russia. Russia has since acted to balance the sides and preserve the conflict. Chechnya was a frozen conflict until Russia decided to begin a second campaign there in 1999. Now it could be described as a low-intensity war.

2. Strategic Interest

If a conflict occurs in a region that is critical to western interests, the West will intervene to solve it. For instance the West overturned Iraq's annexation of Kuwait in 1991 largely because of how critical the Persian Gulf's oil supply is to the West. By comparison, the Cyprus conflict is completely contained on an island that can easily be bypassed. As long as the conflict was prevented from escalating to Turkey and Greece, the West was content to place peacekeepers into an agreed upon position. When long-term strategic interests are not at stake, the West becomes involved in hostilities only when public opinion, inspired by international media, forces it to be.

Europe in general is a strategically important area. The wealth and influence of the countries of this area alone justify a strong diplomatic interest by outside parties. Access to waterways along the north and the south of Europe only add to the commercial strategic interest. Important to the United States in

the second half of the 20th century was the proximity to the Soviet Union for basing. Tourism and cultural heritage also cement Europe's place in the collective interest of the world. Finally, Europe and North America are the home of the majority of the world's liberal democracies. This final point is perhaps the most important in the 21st century as the legitimacy conveyed by these states is critical to any worldwide policy initiatives.

Within Europe there are areas of greater and lesser strategic significance. More than 80% of the world's goods move by sea,² so landlocked countries like most of Yugoslavia are today less significant than countries with coastline. Availability of resources or educated workforce and manufacturing capability contribute to strategic value. None of the areas of frozen conflicts possess significant natural resources or quality manufactured goods. Only Azerbaijan and Russia have access to energy in the Caspian Sea. With the exception of a pipeline through Chechnya and Transnistria, all other conduits for energy have judiciously avoided any of the areas of frozen conflict. The Baku-Tibilisi-Ceyhan pipeline was completed in 2006, and its routing through Georgia has helped draw attention to Georgia's concerns about its frozen conflicts. In other words, the areas of frozen conflict were largely ignored in the post Soviet era because they are insignificant regarding trade.

Geo-strategically, none of the frozen conflict areas are particularly useful. The British bases of Akrotiri and Dhekelia on Cyprus give NATO all the access that it needs and thus renders the remainder of the island strategically insignificant. The mountain ranges in Yugoslavia and the Caucasus make them inconvenient for land transportation. Moldova and the others are simply not on the way to anywhere. During the 1990s when all of the conflicts emerged, the

² Matthew Stibbe, "Shipping Security — All at Sea?" *Info Security Magazine*, (April/May 2006) <http://www.infosecurity-magazine.com/features/marapr06/shipping.html> (accessed June 4, 2006).

much more important issue to Europe was the fate of the Warsaw Pact nations. The focus on these states eclipsed any concern about such insignificant frontiers as the Armenian-Azerbaijani border.

Some have cited the destruction of Sarajevo as one of the causes for the US entry into the Bosnian conflict. The world had watched Sarajevo host the 1984 Winter Olympics and felt a kinship with that city. As it was destroyed by Serb artillery, the world was inspired to protect it.³ The only strategic interest the United States or Europe have in the former Yugoslavia is a desire to reduce organized crime, narcotics and trafficking. These goals have become more important as the threat of strategic conflict between NATO and the Warsaw Pact dissolved. Consequently, the United States ignored the problem and Europe did nothing to actually solve it until it became a media/humanitarian crisis.

B. PREVIOUS LITERATURE

With the exception of the Cyprus issue, unresolved conflicts in Europe have appeared only since the fall of communism. As the areas in question are relatively obscure, they have drawn little international attention. Thus, the issues are explored primarily in websites of the concerned parties and some journals. Svante Cornell (focusing on the Caucasus)⁴ and Scott Pegg (centering on Cyprus and African nations)⁵ in particular have explored the issue from a standpoint of how the autonomous regions develop. They also address the relative benefits and disadvantages of settling armed disputes by creating autonomous areas, but do not propose concrete solutions.

³ David Halberstam, *War in a Time of Peace*, 122.

⁴ Svante Cornell, "Autonomy as a Source of Conflict," *World Politics* 54 (January 2002), 245-276.

⁵ Scott Pegg, *International Society and the De Facto State* (Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 1998), 33.

Russia is universally identified as the state preventing solution in most of the conflicts⁶ with Turkey playing a supporting role in Nagorno-Karabakh and primary role in Cyprus. Though Turkey's motivations are rather clear, there are various schools of thought as to why Russia is acting to prevent solutions to the conflicts. Many of them revolve around domestic political considerations for Russian leadership and national identity.⁷ This study evaluates these concerns to be less valuable than the possible advantages Russia could gain by allowing solutions to the conflicts especially if pushed by a united NATO/EU coalition.

C. GREAT POWERS DECIDE FRONTEIRS

Prior to the First World War the great powers imposed a solution upon warring parties that fought to a standstill. Often it was only one or two of the great powers that would decide borders. These solutions reflected the interests of only the great powers. Frequently parties to the decision considered it unjust and the conflict continued on a different level.

The League of Nations was an attempt to bring this sort of decision making into the open. The idea was to arrive at a decision that was as equitable as possible. Unfortunately, the large states of the time resisted the idea of relinquishing any sovereignty. Additionally there were not yet enough states at the time that had transparent governments that honored the rule of law and the opinions of their citizens. Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia employed modern warfare, communications and transportation to impose some of the most draconian large state decisions in their attempt to redraw the map of Europe in the 1930s and 40s.

⁶ *The Economist*, "Leaders: Keeping Georgia on our Minds; The Caucasus," Vol. 380, no. 8489 (Aug 5, 2006): 15.

⁷ There is a wide variety of authors expressing the opinion that domestic politics is the cause of Russia's support for the breakaway nations. Some of these are: Anatol Lieven, "War in the Caucasus?" *Newsweek* (Oct 16, 2006) and *The Economist*, "Europe: The Hardest Word; Russia," Vol. 381, no. 8499 (Oct 14, 2006).

At the conclusion of the Second World War, the world realized that the availability of technology made solutions by one or two great powers extremely dangerous. Genocide, modern transportation, communications and emerging weapons of mass destruction amplified the possible effects a small nation or nations could have in a short period of time. As there is rarely a case in which all parties to a conflict get all they desire, some introduction of international arbitration and democratic principles had to be introduced. Though it has never fully lived up to expectations, the UN was created and supported to a much higher level than the League of Nations to incorporate a level of democracy into the process.

D. THIRD PARTIES WILL ACCEPT NATO/EU SOLUTIONS

This study will show that the incentives of settling frozen conflicts greatly outweigh the negatives for Russia and Turkey. Thus, they can be convinced by a united policy of the EU and NATO to abandon contrary positions regarding the frozen conflicts. The EU and NATO represent the majority of liberal democracies in the world. As such, the will of their governments represents the will of their people to a greater extent than has ever been the case historically. Consequently, they possess a worldwide reservoir of legitimacy that other nations and institutions do not. Especially in Europe, their influence is dominate. Finally, they represent the preponderance of worldwide military power; thus, they have the capability to impose their solutions.

Russia and Turkey are the two states most responsible for preventing resolution of Europe's frozen conflicts. These states have a number of incentives to settle the conflicts: monetary, diplomatic, security, and the danger of establishing a precedent. However, they have resisted all negotiated solutions. The EU and NATO have the credibility and capability to impose solutions to

these conflicts upon Russia and Turkey. Furthermore, both nations have a history of accepting policy decisions by the Atlantic powers when that policy is coordinated, such as in NATO enlargement and NATO actions in the former Yugoslavia. When the NATO/EU powers are in agreement upon a strategy, it is usually the best course. Russia and Turkey also have a history of exploiting policy rifts between the Atlantic powers.⁸

E. LEGAL STATUS

Frozen conflicts and de facto states represent a basic conflict in international law between sovereignty and ethnic self determination. In the 20th century, an idea gained traction that nations should be afforded the chance to create states of their own people. However, it remains a very sticky concept to apply. How large must the group demanding independence be, and under what circumstances is a call for independence justified?

Prior to the twentieth century, a state was considered sovereign if it could defend its borders and provide internal security. Despite agreements like the Treaty of Westphalia, if a state could not do these things, it was in danger of being overrun. The breakup of colonial empires and the institution of the United Nations led to a new standard in which the borders and sovereignty of new states were recognized without the institutions or ability of the state necessary to maintain them. This new standard was applied during the dissolution of the Soviet Empire and Yugoslav mini-empire. Newly recognized states like Georgia, Moldova and Bosnia proved unable to maintain their sovereignty.

Various legal scholars have provided opinions about how the quandary between sovereignty and self-determination may be decided, but the issue is after all a political one. Montenegro's vote for dissolution of its union with Serbia

⁸ Sergei Lavrov, "What a Strong Russia Wants," *Wall Street Journal*, March 31, 2004, eastern edition.

may be able to serve as a model for deciding the issue in the future. In Montenegro, the EU imposed a 55% supermajority necessary to achieve independence as well as a 50% voter turnout requirement (both of which were satisfied).⁹ Montenegro did not have a problem with refugees returning to vote as many of the other conflict areas would, but its referendum was also certified by outside observers as being free and fair. Additionally, Serbia and Montenegro had already agreed to a constitution that allowed for either party to secede. All of these would play in a global solution to the problem.

F. SUCCESSFUL RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT

This study defines a successful resolution of conflicts by three conditions: cessation of hostilities, refugee absorption, and diplomatic relations between the parties. If there is active fighting by organized or guerrilla forces, the conflict is not resolved. Thus, Chechnya is still an unresolved conflict. In addition, if forces are arrayed in opposition to each other the conflict is yet to be resolved. For instance, while combat deaths between the two are rare, North and South Korea have an unresolved conflict just as does Cyprus.

Along with cessation of hostilities, successful resolution must permit refugees to return. People are normally displaced because they are not allowed to return to their homes or do not judge it to be safe to return. Once again, if such a condition exists, the conflict is yet to be resolved.

The final condition for a conflict to be resolved is normal relations between the conflicting parties. While this is difficult to define, it is critical to judging the status of the conflict. Once states normalize relations, diplomacy and trade begin to expand. Border crossings allow social and work relationships to develop. The smaller the state, the more important these issues are.

⁹ Jovana Gec, "Call for Recount in Montenegro," *Washington Post*, May 23, 2006.

G. POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

There are a limited number of possible solutions to Europe's 21st century frozen conflicts. The least controversial would be to strengthen the UN's conflict resolution powers. However, the status quo of the UN Security Council will be extremely difficult to upset. At the present time, Russia and China will prevent Western solutions in this body. Related to this option would be to create some council in the OSCE or an altogether new body with the power to resolve conflicts. The OSCE has proven to favor consensus over resolution and is loathe to upset its all-inclusive image as a place where any side is free to debate. Thus, the risk of alienating recalcitrant states has prevented it from being effective.

By far the best solution is to use NATO and the EU as a forum of adjudicating and resolving exactly these sorts of conflicts in Europe and possibly elsewhere. These institutions have the advantage of containing the large majority of the world's democracies without adjectives¹⁰ and therefore the most credibility. They also represent a large community of values, so a consensus is possible on many issues unlike any organization that contains Russia or China. Most importantly, they have the resources and capabilities to provide diplomatic leverage and enforcement of their policies. Their credibility as large organizations instead of single nations is their most valuable asset, and one that the coalitions of great powers prior to World War II never possessed.

¹⁰ The term "democracy with adjectives" is used to distinguish NATO and EU countries from other states that have nominal democracies but are controlled by forces other than the rule of law. Freedom House rankings of 1 are the only ones used.

II. GREAT POWERS DECIDE FRONTIERS

Through the conclusion of World War II, the frontiers of the various nations in Europe and elsewhere were decided by force or by coalitions of concerned great powers. Often decisions deciding the fate of small nations were made by only two or three of the great powers acting together.¹¹ Though these countries were the most powerful states in Europe between the world wars, none of them had the military or political will to enforce decisions as they had in the past.

At the conclusion of the First World War the issue of ethnic self-determination emerged. Woodrow Wilson's strong desire to allow small ethnic groups homelands of their own helped establish or define most of the countries now considered Central and Eastern Europe. However, at the time, France and Britain were no longer able to provide the security that the inchoate nations of Eastern Europe required. Furthermore, due to domestic politics, the United States withdrew from Europe and thus did not provide the security either. The high hopes for the League of Nations failed to crystallize.¹²

The beginning of the Second World War highlighted the problems with the League of Nations. The 1938 Munich Agreement marked the return of the great powers to their traditional role in deciding boundaries without input from the countries involved. The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact is a further example of the practice. The conferences in Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam between the US, UK and USSR decided spheres of influence which crystallized into borders during Europe's next 40 years.

¹¹ By the end of the Franco-Prussian War of 1871 the European Great Powers consisted of Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia.

¹² Thomas Knock, *To End All Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 223.

Despite the best hopes for the League of Nations and the UN, the lack of an institution with the power and will to enforce rule-of-law based decisions had extremely negative consequences on large numbers of people before and after the Second World War. These negative outcomes led the world community to shun changes to the status quo and created an institutional desire to retain current frontiers that perseveres today.¹³ The larger the group deciding fates of nations and the more geographically diverse the group is, the more likely it is to be a lasting decision. Organizations such as the EU and NATO have the potential to become exactly the sort of honest broker the world has needed.

A. PARTITIONING EUROPE—ETHNIC SELF-DETERMINATION

During World War I, France and Britain were faced with the dissolution of the leading continental empires: German, Austrian-Hungarian, Russian and Ottoman. Vast amounts of land in Eastern Europe and the Middle East were unstable and vulnerable to stronger nations. The two ultimately victorious powers dealt with these problems in a series of treaties, some of which were: Sykes-Picot (1916), Versailles (1919) and Sevres (1920). Though these agreements had long lasting ramifications, France and Britain did not back them with force.

1. Sykes-Picot Agreement, 1916

Despite the Allies failure to take the Dardanelles from the Ottoman Empire, it was quite evident that at the conclusion of the First World War the Sultan in Constantinople would control much less territory if he even stayed in power. One of the first major agreements to revise European and near European maps was the Sykes-Picot Agreement signed in 1916 by France and Great Britain. It divided up the important Ottoman Middle Eastern possessions. The British took direct control over all of the oil producing areas near the Persian Gulf and secured an overland route connecting this body of water with the Mediterranean

¹³ Sally Marks, *The Illusion of Peace* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976), 21.

Sea. The French took a mandate over the Mediterranean coast well into Anatolia including the fertile lowlands around Adana. Palestine became an international protectorate. In the waning age of empires, the allied powers appeared positioned to add the Middle East to their empires.

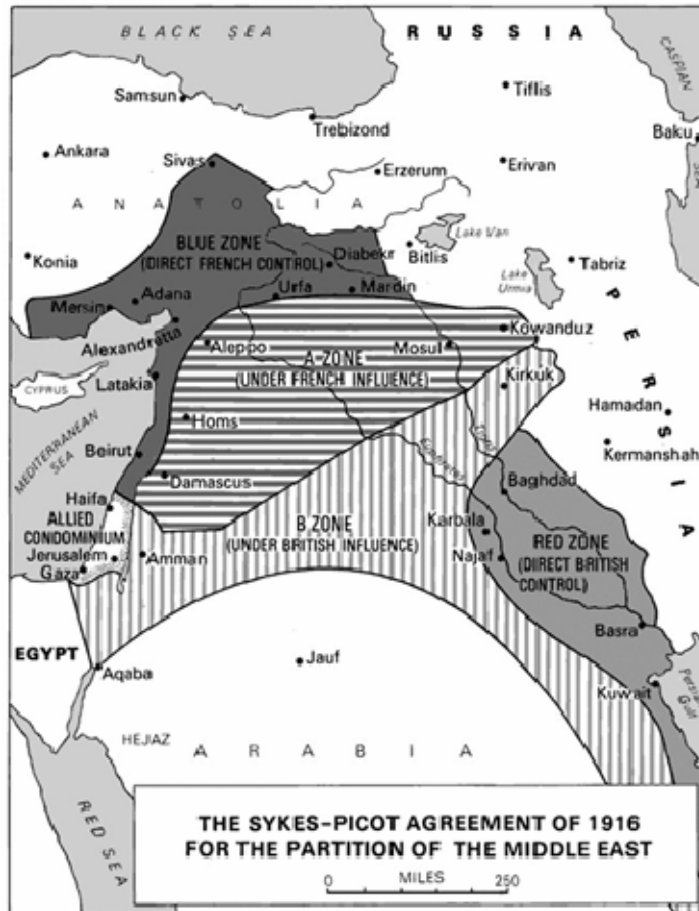


Figure 1. Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 (From First World War.com)¹⁴

This agreement demonstrates one of the major problems of great power agreements. The French in this case, were not prepared to defend their new mandate in the face of an organized offensive; thus, they abandoned the agreement at Versailles. Indeed, nearly all of the Blue Zone was retaken by Ottoman and Turkish forces over the next several years. The British sections

¹⁴ *First World War.com*, "Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916," www.firstworldwar.com/source/sykespicot.htm (accessed Oct 2006)

were far enough away from any organized resistance that they were able to coalesce into 20th century states of Jordan, Kuwait and Iraq. France's A-Zone was eventually to turn into modern day Syria and Lebanon.

Sykes-Picot was also an attempt at ethnic determination. Besides encompassing most of the oil producing areas, the Red-Zone corresponds to a largely Shia population. The A-Zone divides the largely Arab areas from the Turkic areas. It also reinforced the idea of a neutral or non-Arab holy land. Lord Balfour, the British Foreign Secretary stated in 1917 that the intent of Britain was to create a Jewish homeland. However, this policy was amended five years later by a British white paper saying that there was never any intent to create a Jewish state. British authorities halted Jewish immigration to Palestine in 1926 and did not allow it to resume until the 1930s.¹⁵

2. Treaty of Versailles, 1919

The conclusion of the First World War led the great powers to conclude the peace treaty at Versailles without realizing that they were no longer great powers in the classical sense of being able to enforce their will. While over 30 delegations attended the conferences, most of the decisions were made by at most four nations and often as few as two. Italy was included in the talks but was disappointed at the concessions it was winning and left the conference. The most respected economist in the world, John Maynard Keynes walked out of the discussions and wrote a best-selling book describing economically how destructive the treaty would be.¹⁶ Even the United States Senate refused to approve the treaty partly because of Keynes's book and Wilson's compromises of

¹⁵ Ivan Berend, *Decades of Crisis* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1998), 175.

¹⁶ William L. Klein-Ahlbrandt, *The Burden of Victory* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, Inc, 1995), 58.

the 14 points he set out in 1918, but even more because of neutrality issues.¹⁷ The inclusion of dozens of nations in the treaty writing did not significantly alter the economic concessions in the treaty but directly influenced the new borders that appeared in Eastern Europe.

Most importantly, none of the larger powers of the time had the desire to give power to a supra-national body or the capability to enforce that body's edicts. Despite having the only border with the new nations, Italy simply was not a great power and could never have enforced such a sweeping document. After Mussolini took power in 1922, there was no pretense Rome would. The United States had been looking for an excuse to leave Europe.¹⁸ The allies in the six months between armistice and treaty went from 198 divisions to 39. Only ten of these were British; thus, Britain had deactivated its land forces by the time the treaty was signed.¹⁹ Only the politically unstable Third Republic of France remained, and indeed, France in concert with Belgium did invade the Ruhr in 1923, in a poorly conceived attempt to extract some of the reparations from Germany. This action seemed to push Britain toward Germany more than anything else.

Regarding territorial accessions, Germany had gained a large amount of land eastward in its peace settlement with Bolshevik Russia that had to be partitioned. More importantly, the Austrian-Hungarian Empire was no more, and the Ottoman Empire was to be removed from Europe.

¹⁷ Ralph Stone, *The Irreconcilables* (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1970), 39.

¹⁸ William L. Kleine-Ahlbrandt, *The Burden of Victory*, 115.

¹⁹ William L. Kleine-Ahlbrandt, *The Burden of Victory*, 24.

United States president Woodrow Wilson hoped to end war in Europe by giving each ethnic community a homeland.²⁰ In addition, France and Great Britain had promised various countries, like Italy, territories in return for their participation in the war. Russia was totally excluded from the process. Not only did this demonstrate the West's lack of confidence in Bolshevik Russia, but it reinforced a long standing East-West prejudice against Russia as a backward nation having nothing to contribute to world affairs.²¹ The policy of ethnic self-determination led to a complete redrawing of Eastern Europe. New states like Czechoslovakia, Estonia and Yugoslavia emerged. Historic countries like Poland and Lithuania were reconstituted. Existing countries like Romania and Greece increased in size at the expense of the crumbling empires.

More than anything else, this treaty led to the rise of nationalist politics. It created states for nations, but not all ethnic groups could possibly have states. Sixty million people could now associate themselves with a state of their nation, but 25 million were trapped inside borders that did not correspond to their ethnicity.²² France and Britain were able to create what they thought would be a relatively strong linkage of small states friendly to the west between Bolshevik Russia and Germany.²³

With no democratic tradition, nascent democracies soon resorted to populist, nationalist politics to remain in power.²⁴ Populations were very rural with the exception of Czechoslovakia. Voters were relatively uneducated and naïve. Political power was fragile and proved to be unsustainable as the

²⁰ Ralph Stone, *The Irreconcilables*, 15.

²¹ Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1994), 364.

²² Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc., 1998), 42.

²³ Ivan Berend, *Decades of Crisis*, 183.

²⁴ Ivan Berend, *Decades of Crisis*, 76.

economic downturn approached. All but Czechoslovakia had reverted to an authoritarian government by the outbreak of World War Two.

3. Sevres Agreement, 1920

An interesting manifestation of ethnic determination was the Sevres Treaty. In 1920 and in keeping with the theme of ethnic determination applied in Eastern Europe, Britain, France and Italy compelled the Ottoman sultan to sign the Sevres Treaty. In this document, the great powers tried to provide a homeland for both Kurds and Armenians. Greeks also received Asian territory and the entire waterway between the Aegean and Black Sea became international. The Turks were finally removed from the European continent.



Figure 2. Treaty of Sevres, 1920 (From University of San Diego)²⁵

The three major powers made no move to enforce this treaty. The British stationed a few troops in Constantinople more for administration than defense.²⁶ The Greeks were given free reign and transport to expand their holdings. Subsequently, the Sultan was disposed and Turkish forces not only removed Greece from Asia Minor, but also regained a foothold on the Balkan Peninsula

²⁵ University of San Diego, "Treaty of Sevres, 1920," <http://history.acusd.edu/gen/ww2Timeline/revanchism.html> (accessed Oct 2006)

²⁶ H. C. Armstrong, *Gray Wolf* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1933), 115.

and dismissed the small British garrison in Constantinople. In addition, Russia and Turkey combined to remove any hope for a Kurdish state and reduce Armenia and Georgia to small holdings under the domination of the Soviet Union. None of the victorious powers had the ability or proximity to dominate any region if it actively resisted in an organized manner.²⁷

4. League of Nations, 1920-First Attempt at World Arbitrator

The fourteenth point of Wilson's program for world peace presented to Congress in January 1918 called for the creation of a world arbitrating body. He stated that, "A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."²⁸ Provisions for such a governing body were included in the Treaty of Versailles as the League of Nations. Wilson's 14 points met with nearly universal acclaim when he presented them to Congress, yet when the U.S. Senate was called upon to ratify the Treaty of Versailles and thus U.S. entry into the League of Nations it met with fierce controversy and was never ratified.²⁹ Even without U.S. presence, the League formed and began meeting in Geneva, Switzerland. Despite America's absence, confidence from the small nations was high. The Latvian ambassador's sentiment represented most small nations, "The debate regarding great and small powers is over—the League of Nations has made equality of states an international dogma."³⁰

²⁷ Ivan Berend, *Decades of Crisis*, 153.

²⁸ Yale Law School Avalon Project, "President Woodrow Wilson's 14 Points," <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/wilson14.htm> (accessed March 22, 2006).

²⁹ Ralph Stone, *The Irreconcilables*, 21.

³⁰ Ivan Berend, *Decades of Crisis*, 154.



Figure 3. Editorial Cartoon Parodying League of Nations (From Beyond Belief)³¹

The League could handle disputes in one of three ways: arbitrated negotiation, economic sanctions, and the threat of force. For arbitrated negotiation it treated states like gentlemen invited to a table. The rest of the assembly would monitor the negotiations and could provide verbal reprimands. The League was authorized to impose economic sanctions if the belligerent parties did not follow League decisions, but the ultimate threat of force was the most interesting. Nations were expected to volunteer forces to enforce League decisions. Germany was allowed neither a military nor entrance into the organization. The Soviet Union was not admitted until 1934. In the absence of the United States, only France and Britain had any resources capable of influencing a decision, and neither intended to build any forces that could intervene in such a situation. Thus, the League as a guarantee to small nations was hypocritical from its inception. In fact, the great powers normally conducted business in other forums that had nothing to do with Geneva.³²

³¹ *Beyond Belief*, "League of Nations," http://www.beyondbelief72.com/archives/2004/06/060530_league_o.php (accessed Nov 2006)

³² Basil Collier, *Barren Victories*, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1964), 46.

The League of Nations did have some successes during the first years of its existence, but quickly became irrelevant. It was able to partition Upper Silesia between Germany and Poland. It also mediated various small border disputes between Finland and Sweden, Greece and Bulgaria and Turkey and Iraq. However, its failures demonstrate its true abilities much better. It could not act against the large nations: France occupied the Ruhr, Japan commenced operations in Manchuria and Italy attacked Corfu.³³ Though it desired a “just and gradual” absorption of minorities into the new states it fared miserably in mediating ethnic conflicts such as the ones between Poland and Lithuania or Poland and Czechoslovakia.³⁴ It was generally trivialized and obsolete by the time the Spanish Civil War commenced in 1936. The League did have other successes in humanitarian, medical and human rights projects that served as a foundation on which the United Nations could build, but was politically ineffective because the great powers of the time did not want to subjugate their influence to it.

B. GIVING SOLUTIONS BY THE GREAT POWERS A BLACK EYE

Though the great powers did not enforce their political decision after World War I, most of the changes were considered relatively fair. During World War II however, two agreements in particular cast the idea of large nations making decisions for small nations in a bad light: the Munich Agreement and the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

1. The Munich Agreement, 1938

The Munich Agreement of 1938 capped the ill-fated appeasement strategy of Britain and France during the interwar period. All of the large states in Europe were hollow shadows of their former selves, but only Hitler realized it.

³³ Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent*, 57.

³⁴ Ivan Berend, *Decades of Crisis*, 187.

France's Third Republic was extremely weak politically. The rapid changes of government (thirty-four prime ministers in the twenty-two years between the wars) brought by the smallest policy difference, created an inertia that the government could not overcome. France and Britain also realized they could not fight Germany, Italy and Japan without allies and none seemed forthcoming. Britain adopted a policy of appeasement toward the dictatorships and France was forced to go along with it.³⁵

The other formerly great powers were undergoing difficult times at least as bad as those of France. Germany was hamstrung by limitations on its military and pressures on its economy until it decided to ignore the limitations and rebuilt its economy by rebuilding its military. Stalin's Soviet Union had just sacrificed population and leadership during its rapid industrialization and purges. In addition, the USSR was a pariah that frightened Britain just as much as did Germany and France. Britain even considered a strong Germany as a hedge against the other two.³⁶ Further restricting the formerly great powers of Europe was the crushing depression that also hampered the United States. Against this backdrop and emboldened by the conspicuous inaction of France and Britain in the Spanish Civil War and his annexation of Austria, Hitler decided to play classical power politics in Eastern Europe.

The single country in Eastern Europe that had preserved a democracy throughout the interwar period was Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia was the most industrialized country in Eastern Europe, and it had prepared militarily to fight Germany. Additionally, the Czech frontier is mountainous and presents a natural defense. The Ore, Sudetic and Carpathian mountain ranges coupled with

³⁵ Enrique Moradiellos, "The Allies and the Spanish Civil War," in *Spain and the Great Powers in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Sebastian Balfour and Paul Preston (New York: Routledge, 1999), 103.

³⁶ Lloyd Gardner, *Spheres of Influence* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1993), 13.

the dense Bohemian forests provide the country with a serious impediment to Hitler's new mechanized warfare. France had also signed a mutual defense treaty with Czechoslovakia that it realistically could not honor,³⁷ but did provide the Czechs with a measure of comfort that they really were part of Western Europe and could count on other democracies. Thus, Czechoslovakia was the single East European country outside of the Soviet Union that could realistically provide any resistance to a Nazi invasion.



Figure 4. Chamberlain Holds Munich Agreement Aloft (From CalPoly University)³⁸

Hitler created a crisis in the Sudetenland over the German people living there. The Sudetenland is the western mountainous terrain surrounding Bohemia and Moravia in which most of the Czech defenses were stationed. Though there had been some hostilities between the German speaking people and the Czechs, they had been largely managed through the democratic process there and rarely involved any violence. Hitler turned this into a world issue and threatened to invade to support the Germans there.

³⁷ Lloyd Gardner, *Spheres of Influence*, 21.

³⁸ CalPoly University, "Chamberlain Holds Munich Agreement Aloft," <http://cla.calpoly.edu/~lcall/outline.weeksix.html> (accessed Oct 2006).

In keeping with their appeasement policy and Britain's desire to avoid making a mutual defense agreement with the communist Soviet Union, France and Britain attended a conference in Munich in September 1938. The resulting Munich Agreement ceded the Sudetenland to Germany in return for a promise to leave the rest of the country alone. The Czech representatives were not even allowed in the room during the negotiations and were informed of the agreement by Chamberlain as he left the building. Eduard Benes the Czech President and his government could only accept or decline the agreement. Realizing that no support would be forthcoming from Britain and France, he elected not to fight. Hitler broke the agreement only six months later in March of 1939 and annexed the now defenseless Bohemia and Moravia while making Slovakia a client state.

Chamberlain and Daladier displayed a total disregard for treaty commitments to small nations; however, the agreement was extremely popular worldwide at the time. Chamberlain told Benes that no nation could, "prevent this fate for your country and people."³⁹ The single positive outcome from the incident is that the world finally realized that Hitler could not be trusted. One of Hitler's economic advisors quotes the Fuhrer to a British Foreign Officer, "no agreement was valid once it ceased to be useful.... I have signed so many photographs and books, that I thought I would give [Chamberlain] my signature as a pleasant souvenir."⁴⁰ Overall, the Munich Conference reinforced the worldwide distrust of Great Powers deciding the fate of lesser states.

2. Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, 1939

Further discrediting the great powers as arbitrators was the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1939. Though the secret protocols dividing Eastern Europe

³⁹ Lloyd Gardner, *Spheres of Influence*, 39.

⁴⁰ Lloyd Gardner, *Spheres of Influence*, 46.

between Hitler and Stalin did not become public knowledge until the conclusion of the war, chronologically this pact was signed less than a year after the Munich conference.

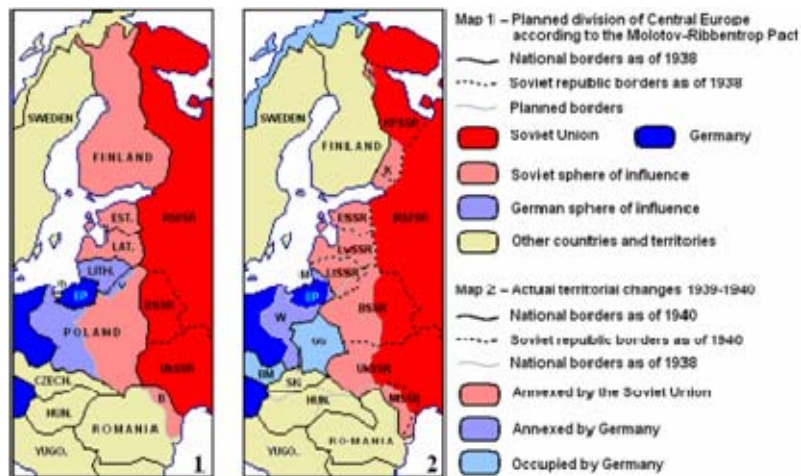


Figure 5. Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact Boundaries (From Arikah)⁴¹

In 1939, Germany was still too weak to take on one of the other major states in Europe. Stalin thought he needed more of a buffer between himself and Hitler. He also desired to reestablish the Russian empire in Finland and the newly minted states along the Baltic Sea. Britain remained extremely hesitant to enter into any sort of pact with Stalin even with war looming on the horizon.

Of the large European states, the Soviet Union was the unknown quantity before the war. The threat of a two front war could possibly have dissuaded even Hitler (at least for a few years) from hostile acts. Russian armies were known to be vast, but the purges had decimated their leadership. Russian industrial capacity had undergone unheard of growth during the 1930s, but Stalin correctly evaluated that he could not yet supply armies to fight Germany. He planned to use the pact to stall for time until 1942 or 1943. Stalin incorrectly thought Germany would invade France in 1940 and get bogged down in trench warfare

⁴¹ Arikah, "Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact Boundaries," http://www.arikah.com/encyclopedia/Molotov-Ribbentrop_Pact (accessed Nov 2006).

similar to the First World War. He then planned to be the white knight coming to the rescue of France and Britain much the same way the United States had in 1918.⁴² An ancillary result of the treaty was the Soviet Union's war on Finland. The poor Soviet performance in this war, led the German General Staff to conclude Stalin's armies would be no match for their own thus reducing uncertainty about the Soviet Union.

Thus, in the Soviet-German non-aggression pact, both leaders got what they wanted, thinking they had duped the other. None of the countries involved (Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland or Romania) had any say in the future of their countries. At the end of World War II Stalin got to keep all or part of these states. The Soviet Union held the distinction of being the only country to gain significant territory in that war.

C. SPHERES OF INFLUENCE IN EUROPE

Because of improved communications and transportation between the leaders, the negotiations in World War Two between the Big Three were driven by personalities perhaps to a greater degree than any other time in history. The three leaders had different perceptions of each other's intentions and these shaped their strategic view of the war and the post-war world. Until the last few months of his life, Roosevelt seemed to believe he could trust Stalin through the post-war rebuilding. Ironically, he was always tentative regarding Churchill and afraid of being, "roped into accepting any European sphere of influence."⁴³

The two wartime conferences held with the leaders of the Big 3 took the idea of dividing sovereign countries in a new direction. These conferences, coupled with Churchill's meeting with Stalin in Moscow in 1944, changed few borders, but began to introduce the concept of spheres of influence. The Potsdam

⁴² Martin Malia, *The Soviet Tragedy* (New York: The Free Press, 1994), 281.

⁴³ Lloyd Gardner, *Spheres of Influence*, 173.

Conference had little lasting effect on Europe. Most of its provisions were overcome by events leading to the Cold War.

1. Tehran Conference, 1943

The conference in Tehran occurred in November 1943, and only lasted four days. It was Roosevelt's first meeting with Stalin. At first he found Stalin to be exceedingly distrustful, but he proceeded to use the rest of the conference to try and curry favor with Stalin by ridiculing Churchill. Roosevelt succeeded in distancing himself from Churchill and fooling himself that he had fostered a sense of trust with Stalin.⁴⁴ Stalin on the other hand thought Churchill was the sort to steal a kopek out of your pocket. He thought Roosevelt would only dip his hand in one's pocket for larger coins.⁴⁵

All of the major border changes were essentially agreed upon in Tehran. Roosevelt acknowledged the Soviet permanent presence in the Baltic States and accepted nearly all of the Soviet territorial gains from the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact including the need to move Poland west.⁴⁶ Whether Roosevelt thought that he had earned free elections in these areas is debatable.

Churchill tried to preserve the Balkans in the western sphere of influence by favoring an allied invasion in the Balkans. He thought this would cutoff Russia's advance and enable the West to preserve at least the Balkans and Italy if not Hungary, Austria and Czechoslovakia. Roosevelt brought the idea up and let Stalin shoot it down after Churchill already expressed approval. It is possible that Roosevelt used the plan only in a vain attempt to curry favor with Stalin.

⁴⁴ Richard Overy, *Why the Allies Won* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995), 247.

⁴⁵ Milovan Djilas, *Conversations with Stalin* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1962), 73.

⁴⁶ Lloyd Gardner, *Spheres of Influence*, 175.

2. Churchill's Meeting in Moscow with Stalin, 1944

In October of 1944, Churchill went to Moscow to discuss spheres of influence in Eastern Europe. When he could not make any progress concerning Poland, he turned the negotiation to the Balkans. Churchill's primary objective was to retain control of the Mediterranean Sea. Stalin and Churchill settled on assigning 90% of the responsibility for post-war Greece to the west. In return the Soviet Union got 90% of Romania. Bulgaria would be 75% Soviet, and Yugoslavia and Hungary would be split 50% each. Stalin acknowledged that Italy would be in the west.⁴⁷

While a very interesting depiction of how the Big 3 were negotiating, the percentages were on the whole meaningless. As Stalin remarked to Djilas, "This war is not as in the past; whoever occupies a territory also imposes on it his own social system. Everyone imposes his own system as far as his army can reach."⁴⁸ Churchill understood that Stalin was thinking along these lines and had no desire to include ethnic determination in his post-war considerations.⁴⁹ By reaching this understanding he may have been responsible for keeping the Red Army out of Greece, Italy and most of Yugoslavia.

3. Yalta Conference, 1945

The Yalta Conference occurred over the space of one week in February 1945. The primary point of discussion was how the allies would occupy Germany. The conference also finalized the creation of the United Nations, and there were some small territorial adjustments in the Far East contingent upon the

⁴⁷ Lloyd Gardner, *Spheres of Influence*, 198.

⁴⁸ Milovan Djilas, *Conversations with Stalin*, 114.

⁴⁹ Hagen Schulze, *States Nations and Nationalism* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Blackwell Publishers, Inc., 1994), 308.

Soviet Union joining the war there. However, the issue for which Yalta is constantly analyzed is contained in Section II of the Protocol of Proceedings of Crimea Conference:

the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they will live - the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those peoples who have been forcibly deprived to them by the aggressor nations.⁵⁰

There is little doubt that Roosevelt and Churchill expected Poland especially, but most of Eastern Europe to have some sort of free elections at the conclusion of the war. In retrospect, it is easy to dismiss the pure naïveté of these leaders, but it is also realistic to believe that they were aware of what would happen and were simply politically grandstanding afterward.⁵¹ Stalin remarked during the conference that he would never agree to have the decisions of the great powers subject to the desires of the small nations. Churchill replied, “The eagle should permit the small birds to sing, and care not wherefore they sang.”⁵² A week before Roosevelt died he was visibly incensed that Stalin had broken his promises. He even wrote of “bitter resentments” and “vile misrepresentations” in his last correspondence with Stalin.⁵³ However, just prior to Yalta, Roosevelt had acknowledged the weakness of the west’s position regarding Soviet forces in Eastern Europe. He hoped just to “ameliorate the situation” with agreements he hoped to make in Yalta, and Churchill had already agreed to various percentages of influence in Moscow.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Fordham University Modern History Sourcebook, “Protocol of Proceedings of Crimea Conference,” <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1945YALTA.html> (accessed March 22, 2006).

⁵¹ Russell D. Buhite, *Decisions at Yalta* (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, 1986), 130.

⁵² Michael Charlton, *The Eagle and the Small Birds* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 13.

⁵³ Michael Charlton, *The Eagle and the Small Birds*, 53.

⁵⁴ Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent*, 228.



Figure 6. Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin at Yalta (From Brooklyn College)⁵⁵

In any case, wherever the Red Army occupied, it did not leave for 45 years. The imposition on Eastern European governments was obvious and crushing. Churchill and Roosevelt have carried the blame for their decisions in Yalta, but their negotiating positions were difficult due to the war weariness of the world in the late 1940s.

4. United Nations, 1945-Second Attempt at World Arbitrator

At the conclusion of World War Two, a replacement for the League of Nations came into being. This time, the two remaining great powers both joined the organization, and the framers of the UN seem to have learned a few lessons from the ill-fated League. In the Charter of the UN, it specifically dictates when the use of force is permissible. Though never exercised, articles 43 through 48 require members to make their armed forces available if the UN authorizes force.⁵⁶ The requirement to provide armed forces for UN action is a significant contrast from the charter of the League of Nations. Though the UN was hamstrung by east-west polarity during the cold war, it has had some success at preventing bloodshed at various points in its history. Most critically, when an organization of this size authorizes force, as in Korea and Kuwait, it carries an extreme amount of legitimacy.

⁵⁵ Brooklyn College, "Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin at Yalta," <http://academic.brooklyn.cuny.edu/history/core/pics/0255/img0039.jpg> (accessed Oct 2006).

⁵⁶ United Nations General Assembly, *Charter of the United Nations*, 1945, <http://www.unhcr.ch/html/menu3/b/ch-chp7.htm> (accessed March 22, 2006).

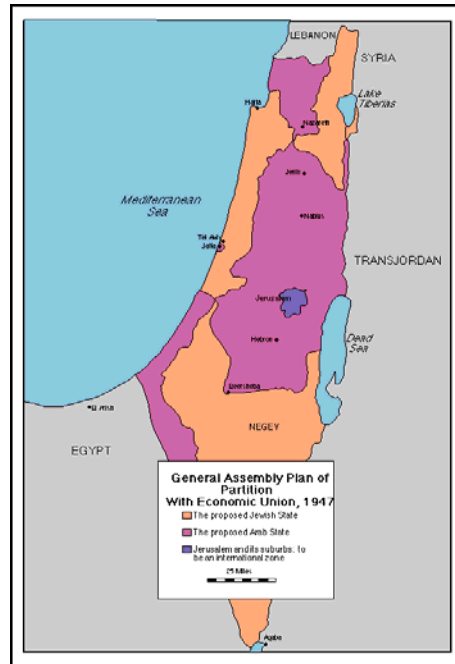


Figure 7. UN Partition Plan of Palestine, 1947 (From Mid East Web)⁵⁷

The most significant, near Europe border change enacted by this new arrangement of great powers was the creation of Israel with the 1947 Resolution 181. The vote in the UN on this resolution was 33-13, but nearly all of the votes against came from Arab countries. The representatives of the Muslim nations walked out after the vote and the surrounding countries went to war. No force was provided by the UN to enforce its decision, but remarkably, the Jewish state was able to not only win, but expand its territory.

Since 1947, the UN has refrained from intervening to change borders. As it has grown in size, it has become significantly less agile. A significant criticism of the UN is its desire to treat all nations equally despite the degree to which the government respects the will of its people.

⁵⁷Mid East Web, "UN Partition Plan of Palestine, 1947," <http://www.mideastweb.org/unpartition.htm> (accessed Nov 2006).

D. CONCLUSION

The twentieth century exhibited a number of ways the great powers could involve themselves in border changes. In retrospect, a large state can only be considered a great power if it is willing and able to back its policy with force. No country met the willing and able test after World War One despite France and Britain filling the historic roles of great powers writing the peace treaty. There are two key factors to longer lived changes: willingness to use force and the size of the consensus making the decision. If the great powers are not willing to safeguard the decision, it is less likely to succeed. In general, the larger the consensus to support the initial border change, the more likely it is to endure.

The League of Nations and United Nations present an interesting problem. How big can the decision making body be? Obviously decisions are made more quickly if there is only a Big Three (WW2) or Big Four (WW1). More important than the size of the groups in this case, is the diversity. The Big Four was driven by two Western European powers Britain and France with very similar ideology. The Big Three consisted of two superpowers and a declining power spread over three continents and representing the two competing ideologies of the time. Its decisions were remarkably stable and endured in fragile peace for over 40 years with only minor changes. An institution must be able to reach consensus on a broad range of matters. Perhaps if such a larger organization that is made up of democracies can adjudicate the dispute it will be long lasting, just, and supported by third parties that may be prolonging the conflict.

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III. WHY THIRD PARTIES WILL ACCEPT EU/US SOLUTIONS

Third parties to the frozen conflicts are the single most important factor preventing their resolution. Russia has emerged as the primary culprit in Europe. As a result of focusing on the exceptionally strategic area of Central Europe in the 1990s, the West largely ignored the southern periphery of the former Soviet Union. Russia looked to preserve its influence in these areas.

The lack of any strategic value of the Caucasus and Black Sea region contributed to Western neglect.⁵⁸ Though diplomatically and militarily weak, Russia did what it could to keep the smaller nations unstable by aiding, supplying and fostering separatist conflicts there. Russia allowed the conflicts to reach a stalemate and then acted to preserve them in this status. Today the small nations of Moldova, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan remain off balance or dependent upon Russia for their security due to the presence of areas that are beyond their control: Transnistria, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, and Nagorno-Karabakh.

Russia itself fell victim to a similar situation in Chechnya. One of many reasons that the situation there spun out of control was because of Russia's encouragements of nationalism in the area. When nationalistic tendencies led to separation, Russia responded with an extremely violent and blunt offensive. The massive collateral damage alienated much of the population. As of Russia's second campaign in Chechnya beginning in 1999, Chechnya is no longer frozen, but more of a low-intensity guerrilla conflict. Kosovo is also prevented from reaching a terminal solution because of Russian diplomacy.

⁵⁸ Even the presence of energy in the Caspian did not increase the region's profile because Russia already controlled the distribution of it, and the price of oil was in the low teens per barrel.

The dispute over how Cyprus will be governed remains the only other frozen conflict in Europe. Turkey's motives in preserving the conflicts in Northern Cyprus and Nagorno-Karabakh are driven by domestic politics and common Turkic ethnicity. The Cyprus conflict was largely ignored because of the lack of consensus even within NATO over a desired outcome. Additionally, the sovereign British territories of Akrotiri and Dhekelia on the island lead the remainder of it to be strategically insignificant. Cyprus is not critical to European or North American national interests. As a new EU member, Cyprus has been using the issue to hamper Turkey's EU negotiations, but the issue remains relevant only to Turkey, Cyprus, and to a lesser extent, Greece.

Now that Europe has become an oasis of stability in which large scale conflict is becoming unimaginable and small conflicts unlikely, the EU is beginning to turn its attention to its neighbors and prospective members farther east. This policy runs into conflict with a Russia which still defines itself as a great power partly on the basis of its control in its "near abroad." Part of Russia's identity as such comes from its influence in the former Soviet states,⁵⁹ but this influence is not only destructive to these states, it is injurious to Russia. This chapter suggests there are very strong incentives for Russia and Turkey to resolve these conflicts that have frozen along their periphery. Furthermore, Russia is much weaker than the West and has submitted to policy decisions by the West when it is presented with a united front of Atlantic and EU powers. There is reason to conclude that Turkey and Russia will act in a similar manner in regard to the frozen conflicts.

⁵⁹ Vera Tolz, "Forging the Nation: National Identity and Nation Building in Post-communist Russia," *Europe-Asia Studies* 50, no. 6 (1998): 993.

A. THIRD PARTIES AND FROZEN CONFLICTS

One of the major reasons frozen conflicts exist is because there is a third party that supplies or fights for the breakaway region and acts to preserve the resulting stalemate. Russia is the exclusive provider of this support to Transnistria, Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Turkey performs the same role for Northern Cyprus. As to Nagorno-Karabakh, when Turkey came to the aid of Azerbaijan, Armenia lobbied for Russian support and quickly got it. The threat of Turkey crossing Armenia's western border cemented the allegiance to Russia and its presence there. Russia continues to maintain bases and troops in all of the countries and regions involved despite 1999 treaty commitments to remove them from Georgia⁶⁰ and Moldova and an Azeri desire to have them leave Azerbaijan.

After accepting all of the former Soviet nations into the "Partnership for Peace" (PfP) program in 1994, NATO was notably absent from the southern flank of the former Soviet Union. In 2004, NATO appointed a special representative of the NATO secretary-general for the South Caucasus and Central Asia to be based in Georgia. A few of the countries have observed or made very limited participation in various exercises with NATO, but until the anti-terrorism emphasis appeared in western policy there were few contacts between NATO and the region. In 2005 NATO officially said that it is willing to station peacekeeping troops in the south Caucasus as part of a negotiated settlement.⁶¹

Romania's accession to NATO and its entrance to the EU in 2007 give it more of a voice in Europe. Its close ties to Moldova give more visibility of the Transnistria problem and the others further east to western institutions. The Rose

⁶⁰ In May 2005, Georgia and Russia reached an agreement to close the final two Russian bases in Batumi and Akhalkalaki by the end of 2008. Russia still maintains a "morale and welfare" post in Gudauta, Abkhazia that has a permanent presence.

⁶¹ Taleh Ziyadov, "NATO Peacekeeping Troops in the South Caucasus?" *Jamestown Foundation: Eurasia Daily Monitor*, 17 November 2005.

and Orange Revolutions in 2003 and 2004 respectively, brought western leaning leaders to power in Georgia and Ukraine. The new Georgian president Mikheil Saakashvili especially has been very vocal to get Europe and the United States to look at the issues of the region. In sum, until 2002 and despite the small OSCE and UN contingents, the West played virtually no role in the region, but has since shown an interest in bringing these states into Atlantic and European institutions.

B. HOW RUSSIA PERCEIVES THESE AREAS

During the Yeltsin administration, the unofficial term for the former Soviet states was “near abroad.” The former empire holds a special place in Russian national identity, and it is very difficult domestically to accept the West’s influence in these areas. The Russian high command pushed for intervention in the various conflicts, “as a means to promote Russian security interests and protect ethnic Russians, as well as to legitimize the Russian troops’ presence in certain of the former Soviet states.”⁶² The immediate and decisive separation by the Baltic States was marginally palatable only because of their independence between the two world wars and the refusal of major Western powers to recognize their forcible inclusion in the USSR. Russia indisputably has a special relationship with the post-Soviet states. However, it is steadily losing influence in Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia and Azerbaijan because of their infringements on sovereignty there.

The Russian elite appear to view the area in realist, zero-sum terms.⁶³ If the West is gaining influence, then Russia must be losing influence and control; furthermore, a large portion of Russia thinks that it has nothing to gain by

⁶² Neil Malcolm, Alex Pravda, Roy Allison, and Margot Light eds., *Internal Factors in Russian Foreign Policy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 271-272.

⁶³ Dov Lynch, “Struggling with an Indispensable Partner,” *Chaillot Papers* 74 (Jan 2005): 135.

increased Western influence there. The major hindrance to resolution of the frozen conflicts is Putin's foreign policy of strengthening Russia's dominance in former Soviet states as a way to restore Russia to great power status.⁶⁴

Russia's strategic interests lie in two aspects of the region. First is the access to energy from the Caspian Sea basin. Russia would like to control all of the energy production and transportation in the territory of the former Soviet Union. Conduits operated independently of Russia, such as the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Pipeline, threaten that exclusivity, as does Russia's dependency on pipelines that pass through Chechnya, Ukraine and Moldova.

The second is the region's position as a gateway to the Black Sea and land route to Iran and Turkey. Russia's only western warm water naval base is in Sevastopol located on the Crimean Peninsula in Ukraine. Historically the Caucasus has been a source of conflict between the Ottoman, Persian and Russian empires. The current borders only date back to the conclusion of Second World War, but Moscow has more or less controlled the area since the 18th century. In 2005, Russia had a \$2 Billion trade surplus with Iran,⁶⁵ so a secure transportation route to the south is important.

C. RUSSIAN PRECEPTION OF THE FROZEN CONFLICTS

The five conflicts in the region are remarkably similar with each other and with Kosovo and Cyprus. None of the regions themselves have any strategic value or notable natural resources. With the exception of Abkhazia and Cyprus, they all take place in landlocked regions. Populist leaders in each of the regions exploited ethnic or religious issue to create nationalism. All except Transnistria

⁶⁴ Oleksandr Pavliuk, "The States 'In Between,'" in *Russia's Engagement with the West*, eds. Motyl, Ruble & Shevtsova, (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2005), 197.

⁶⁵ Hannes Adomeit, "Russia's Iran Policy," *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik Comments*, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (9 March 2006), http://www.swp-berlin.org/en/common/get_document.php?asset_id=2865 (accessed 24 Nov 2006).

have spurred a refugee crisis. Any solutions to the conflicts will have to be on a case by case basis because of various precedents they could set if settled en masse.

	Current Population	Number Killed	Refugees
Abkhazia	200-250,000	10,000	250,000+
South Ossetia	45-70,000	1500	10s of thousands
Transnistria	555,000	1000	minimal
Nagorno-Karabakh	140,000	15,000	100s of thousands
Chechnya	800,000-1,000,000	200,000	200-300,000
Kosovo	2,400,000	11,000	850,000
Northern Cyprus	175,000	6000	250,000

Table 1. Demographics of Frozen Conflicts.⁶⁶

1. Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Transnistria

Moscow views these three regions in a similar vein. In each of them, Russian citizenship has been granted to all who ask for it. Abkhazia and South Ossetia have borders with Russia and use the ruble as their currency. South Ossetia has a sister region of North Ossetia in Russia with which it indicates a desire to merge despite language, religious, and cultural differences. Russia has a particular fondness for Abkhazia because of its beauty. It is one of the most verdant areas of the former Soviet Union, and many Russians have taken a beach holiday there. In a bit of Caucasus irony, as Russia initially supported Abkhazia's

⁶⁶ All of these numbers are stated differently in a variety of sources depending on the agenda of the source. This chart is an attempt to find some middle ground in these three categories. Among the many sources used are: The CIA Factbook, Power & Interest News Report, "Russia's Slippery Foothold in Abkhazia," 18 October 2004, http://www.pinr.com/report.php?ac=view_report&report_id=224&language_id=1; Rebecca Ratliff, "South Ossetian Separatism in Georgia," ICE Case Studies Number 180, May 2006, <http://www.american.edu/ted/ice/ossetia.htm>; Jean-Christophe Peuch, "Caucasus: Top Armenian General Slams Azerbaijan Over Defense Spending," Radio Free Europe: June 29, 2005, <http://www.rferl.org/featuresarticle/2005/06/8cfe4cb9-12cc-47c2-8711-3a73d54ee677.html>.

fight against Georgia in 1992, it sent Chechen fighters to aid the Abkhaz. They terminated this practice when hostilities in Chechnya began.⁶⁷



Figure 8. Map of Georgia showing Location of Abkhazia and South Ossetia (From GlobalSecurity.org)⁶⁸

One of the biggest issues keeping these conflicts frozen is financial. Organized crime is profitable to a few in each of these states. The money from narcotics, arms and human trafficking benefits military, border police and government officials in all areas. Obviously, those profiting in the organized crime are the most powerful and have a very strong incentive to maintain the status quo. Transnistria is unique among the conflicts in that its independence is almost purely a financial bargain.⁶⁹ Moldova remains the poorest country in Europe. Especially in the early 1990s, remaining joined to it was not a very attractive option. Ethnic Russians and Ukrainians make up the majority in Transnistria, and in September 2006 held a referendum to remain independent and possibly join Russia.

⁶⁷ Shireen Hunter, "Borders, Conflict, and Security in the Caucasus: The Legacy of the Past," *SAIS Review* 26, no. 1, (Winter 2006): 116.

⁶⁸ Global Security.Org, "Map of Georgia with Rebellious Regions," <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/georgia.htm> (accessed Oct 2006).

⁶⁹ Charles King, "The Benefits of Ethnic War," *World Politics* 53, No.4, (2001): 532.

The Russians have troops in all three of these regions. Though they committed themselves in 1999 to withdrawing their troops, their presence may be the biggest factor in their favor. In most of the other policy victories by the West, Russia was helpless to do anything. Certainly none of the areas are worth armed conflict between the West and Russia, so the Russian troops will have to be removed diplomatically to allow neutral forces to police the borders.



Figure 9. Map of Moldova Showing Transnistria (From Moldova.org)⁷⁰

Besides restoring Moldovan or Georgian sovereignty or outright independence, Abkhazia and Transnistria have one other option. Abkhazia could conceivably be annexed to Russia at some point in the future. Transnistria is 30% Ukrainian and it could be divided between Moldova and Ukraine as part of a settlement. There is not a similar option in South Ossetia because it is divided from Russia by a formidable mountain range. Russia and South Ossetia are linked only by a tunnel. Yet both Abkhazia and South Ossetia have expressed a desire to join Russia. Abkhazia is the single disputed region that could evolve into a nominally viable independent country.

⁷⁰Moldova.Org, "Map of Moldova," <http://www.moldova.org/pagini/eng/771/> (accessed Oct 2006).

As a side note, there are a number of other disputes in the Caucasus that follow nearly the same lines as these three cases. The most incendiary is the one between North Ossetia and Ingushetia. These are both regions of the Russian Federation, and they have actively fought each other over perceived territorial slights. Both have sovereign and ethnic claims on common territory. The conflict is overshadowed by Chechnya in the Russian conscience, but lingers on unresolved and could erupt at any time if seized upon by an opportunist politician. Azerbaijan and Iran have populations in each other's countries that have expressed desires to leave their present countries and take the land upon which they stand with them. Additional Russian regions: Dagestan, Karachai-Cherkessia, and Kabardino-Balkaria all have populations advocating unification, independence from Russia, or reunification with Azerbaijan in different combinations.⁷¹ Russia claims to have killed four Al Qaeda operatives pushing for exactly such a goal in Dagestan in November 2006. In sum, it reminds one that the Caucasus have the potential to be even more Balkanized than the Balkans.

2. Nagorno-Karabakh (NK), Northern Cyprus and Kosovo

These three conflicts are also similar. In these areas there are clear ethnic majorities that favor independence from the sovereign, and Russia and Turkey play the parts of concerned outsider. Russia and Turkey appear in a very realist manner concerning them. In the 1990s Russia gave its support to Armenia and thus NK in its attempt at secession from Azerbaijan⁷², but supported Serbia in its conflict with Kosovo. The Soviet Union initially supported Azerbaijan, but as it became clear that it would be impossible to hold the USSR together and Armenia

⁷¹ Shireen Hunter, "Borders, Conflict, and Security in the Caucasus: The Legacy of the Past," 126.

⁷² Charles Clover, Guy Dinmore, "A Relationship Based on Shared Enmities," *Financial Times*, March 13, 2001.

was much more friendly, it shifted support to Armenia. The same paradox is true for Turkey's support of Azeri sovereignty over NK but its own support for Turkish Cypriot independence.



Figure 10. Map of Caucasus Showing Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh (From Washington DC office of Nagorno-Karabakh)⁷³

Putin often links the status of Kosovo with NK, Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Transnistria. In his notable policy speech on 31 January 2006, he stated that:

If someone believes that Kosovo should be granted full independence as a state, then why should we deny it to the Abkhaz and the South Ossetians? I am not talking about how Russia will act; however, we know that Turkey, for instance, has recognized the Republic of Northern Cyprus. I don't want to say that Russia will immediately recognize Abkhazia or South Ossetia as independent, sovereign states, but such precedents do exist in international practice.⁷⁴

⁷³ Nagorno-Karabakh Washington DC Office, "Map of Caucasus," www.nkrusa.org/country_profile/geography.shtml (accessed Oct 2006).

⁷⁴ RadioFreeEurope RadioLiberty, "Russia: Putin Calls for 'Universal Principles' to Settle Frozen Conflicts," Feb 1, 2006, <http://www.rferl.org/featuresarticle/2006/02/dd872c4d-1d9e-4e35-86d9-436036bb8a4b.html> (accessed 24 Nov 2006).

Despite Putin's attempts to link the fate of all the frozen conflicts, there are many reasons why, despite their similarities, they cannot be linked to Kosovo. The first is the legitimacy of the claim for independence. A large, mostly impartial coalition supported autonomy for the Kosovar Albanians (though not independence). None of the NATO coalition adjoins Kosovo or receives any benefit by its being independent. In the long-term NATO countries could even be harmed by an independent Kosovo that turns to fundamental Islam. In contrast, the only supporter for Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Transnistria is the single power that has a direct stake in the outcome of these frozen conflicts. Secondly, Kosovo always had clear borders and distinct administration and institutions from the founding of communist Yugoslavia. These were only taken away in the 1980s by Milosevic. Abkhazia has a slightly better claim than South Ossetia and NK due to its status as an autonomous republic in the Soviet Union (South Ossetia and NK were autonomous oblasts). Both Abkhazia and South Ossetia were under the Georgian SSR. Additionally, even if all refugees were returned, a free and fair vote for independence in Kosovo would meet any standard (60%+) of approval. Finally, Serbia essentially gave up the right to rule Kosovo through its attempts at genocide and ethnic cleansing.⁷⁵

NK has three viable options. The first is return to Azeri control with a significant amount of autonomy, but the Armenian population demands the ability to have a referendum on independence at some future time. The second option is outright independence. Any move in this direction would be quickly followed by Armenian annexation. A last option that has been offered to poor response is some sort of land swap. There is an Azeri enclave in Nakhichevan

⁷⁵ Janusz Bugajski, Patrick Armstron, Andrei Tsygankov, and Donald Jensen, "Weekly Russia Experts Panel-The 'Montenegrin Precedent,'" June 2, 2005, *New European Democracies Project*, <http://www.untimely-thoughts.com/index.html?cat=Jun%202,%202005&type=3&art=2215>, (accessed 24 Nov 2006).

that is isolated from Azerbaijan proper. The possibility exists that some sort of land bridge could be traded to Armenia for NK, but that would cut Armenia off from its Iranian border and does not appear likely.



Figure 11. Map of Cyprus Showing Areas of De Facto Sovereignty (From Assetz Cyprus Online)⁷⁶

The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus has three very similar options. The status quo has held for more than 30 years. If other nations chose to recognize it, independence is a viable option. Less likely is the annexation of TRNC by Turkey. Such a move would make sense economically and politically, but could have catastrophic consequences for Turkey's EU bid. Thus, it is much more of a long-term possibility. The most desirable option of reunification of the island is unfortunately the least likely. Creating a political system to govern both distinct ethnic groups has proven to be extremely difficult on multiple occasions. There are few examples in Europe or the Middle East of a successful state with such diverse and divided populations.

The independence of Kosovo appears to be a foregone conclusion. It is likely that a small slice of northern Kosovo will be returned to Serbia in the

⁷⁶ Assetz, "Map of Cyprus," cyprus.assetz.co.uk/map-of-cyprus.htm (accessed Oct 2006).

settlement. Albania has spoken very forcefully that it has no pretensions of a greater Albania.⁷⁷ Though much more sustainable for Kosovo if it could be joined to Albania, such an action could destabilize the Albanian minorities in Macedonia, Montenegro and Greece.

Moscow is eager to draw conclusions from the recent Montenegro vote for independence, but the analogy is again poor. Montenegro was always acknowledged as an independent republic in the former Yugoslavia framework similar to Serbia or Slovenia. Both Serbia and Montenegro were already independent, and both had the constitutional right to secede.

3. Chechnya

Chechnya remains a part of Russia. As such it is outside of the bounds that United States or EU policy can really affect. However, its instability plays a destabilizing role in that of the rest of the Caucasus. After the embarrassing 1994-96 war, Russia was forced to concede autonomy to it just short of outright independence. The greater significance of this war was to cement hostility and distrust between the two parties.

The Chechens squandered their freedom from Moscow by failing to create any viable institutions. Organized crime took over the region, and Chechens were accused of exporting separatist sentiments and terrorism to neighboring regions.⁷⁸ In addition, domestic politics may have driven Russia to intervention. Yeltsin was looking for a successor and an initial success by a decisive prime minister would make him electable as president. Putin filled this role well. His healthy lifestyle and decisive personality, especially over the Chechnya issue,

⁷⁷ *Economist Intelligence Unit ViewsWire*, "Serbia and Montenegro Economy: Albania Minister Urges EU to Help Kosovo Economy," April 6, 2006.

⁷⁸ Yossef Bodansky, "Tinder Box in the Caucasus," *Defense & Foreign Affairs Strategic Policy* 28, No. 4 (April 2000): 5.

made a welcome contrast to Yeltsin. Even though he was a relatively unknown figure, he easily won the March 2000 elections.⁷⁹

Russia will not easily accept any more losses to their territory. It is also in the West's interests to keep Chechnya part of Russia. It is not viable as an independent state and holds no promise for establishing the rule of law on its own. Furthermore, it remains unclear as to how many Chechens support independence. Unfortunately, the economic destruction, ruined infrastructure, and culture of distrust that now predominate will make Chechnya a difficult region for anyone to govern.

D. RUSSIA AND TURKEY'S INCENTIVES TO SETTLE THE CONFLICTS

The third parties that are prolonging the conflicts have distinct interests in ridding themselves of the baggage that the frozen conflicts carry. This section details those reasons. Because Russia and Turkey have more to gain than to lose from these solutions, the international community can expect them to give the conflicts up once they have served as an appropriate bargaining chip. It is incumbent upon the West to convince Russia and Turkey of their folly in prolonging the conflicts. The lawlessness of the unrecognized states contributes to crime, terrorism, drugs and decreased tax revenue. The second reason to cease support for the breakaway regions is monetary. Additionally, both Russia and Turkey forfeit a large amount of diplomatic credibility by continuing to support the regions. Turkey especially loses negotiating room in its EU accession negotiations because it is hesitant to settle the Cyprus issue quickly. Finally, if they support secession for these de facto states, it sets a precedent for Chechnya, Kurdistan and possibly other nations loosely held by Russia to declare their independence.

⁷⁹ Holman Jenkins, "The Putin Puzzle," *Wall Street Journal*, Jan 5, 2005.

1. Weak States on Periphery

There is a great expense having weak states on a country's periphery. All of the unrecognized states have become havens for organized crime, terrorism, drug and human trafficking. In Transnistria, the Ribnitsa arms factory accounts for 35-60% of Transnistria's tax revenue. There are confirmed sales from this factory of rocket launchers to Abkhazia that then arrived in Chechnya.⁸⁰ In general, Transnistria is an Eastern European clearinghouse for "illicit trafficking in arms, people and drugs, organized crime, money-laundering and smuggling"⁸¹

Georgia's weakness has led to its development as the second largest conduit for illegal drugs on Russia's border and a supplier of chemicals used to refine drugs in Central Asia. Multiple Islamic fundamentalist terror organizations are confirmed to be using this drug trade to finance their organizations.⁸² Narcotics trafficking alone through Abkhazia and South Ossetia reached \$1B per year in 2002.⁸³ In South Ossetia, a region whose declared budget is \$1M each year, OSCE estimated \$60-70M worth of untaxed goods pass through its border with Russia in 1999.⁸⁴

2. Terrorism

Some of Russia's problems with terrorism can be traced directly to the lawlessness of Abkhazia and South Ossetia. In the early part of this decade, the Pankisi Gorge in Georgia was providing a safe haven for Chechen rebels. At the

⁸⁰ Achilles Skordas, "Transnistria: Another Domino on Russia's Periphery?" *Yale Journal of International Affairs* 1, no. 1 (Summer/Fall 2005): 34.

⁸¹ Nicu Popescu, "The EU in Moldova – Settling conflicts in the Neighbourhood," *Occasional Paper 60, European Union Institute for Security Studies*, Paris (Oct 2005): 2.

⁸² Glenn Curtis, *Narcotics Trafficking in Former Soviet Union*, Library of Congress-Federal Research Division, October 2002, <http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/pdf-files/RussianOrgCrime.pdf> (accessed 24 Nov 2006).

⁸³ Glenn Curtis, *Narcotics Trafficking in Former Soviet Union*.

⁸⁴ Charles King, "The Benefits of Ethnic War," 536.

time, Shevardnadze's Georgia was incapable of policing much of the country, let alone the Pankisi Gorge. The problem of terrorists was harmful to both states, but Russia used this issue to highlight the weakness of Georgia's government. Russia consented to cooperation with the Georgian and US governments to resolve the issue, but would benefit more if Georgia was a strong stable state that is able to administer the rule of law throughout its territory. The new administration in Georgia has turned over captured terrorists to Russia; however, in 2005 Georgia began to push South Ossetia militarily. Russia reacted negatively to this, and relations between the two nations have assumed a sharp downward spiral nearly leading to armed conflict at the end of 2006.

Ultimately, the fact that instability exists contributes to problems in Russia and to a lesser extent Turkey. The polemic policies that surround weak states contribute to the instability in the north Caucasus.⁸⁵ The Russian military has degenerated so far that its being mobilized in the Caucasus contributes to the lawlessness and arms smuggling, thus being a threat to those it is intended to protect.⁸⁶

3. Monetary Costs

While the direct costs of supporting the unrecognized republics are not prohibitively expensive, there are few benefits to justify the cost of these various commitments. Transnistria alone is receiving \$20M in energy subsidies each year.⁸⁷ Armenia, NK, South Ossetia and Abkhazia also receive large energy subsidies. In addition, Russia makes up Transnistria's budget shortfall each year

⁸⁵ Stephen Blank, "A Framework for Unfreezing Eurasia's Conflicts," *RUSI Journal* 150, no. 4 (Aug 2005): 56.

⁸⁶ Pavel Baev, "The Trajectory of the Russian Military," in *The Russian Military* eds. Steven Miller and Dmitri Trenin (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2004), 43.

⁸⁷ Marius Vahl, "Borderland Europe: Transforming Transnistria?" *Centre for European Policy Studies*, 9 Jan 2005, http://www.ceps.be/Article.php?article_id=222 (accessed 24 Nov 2006).

of greater than \$10M, nearly 25% of Transnistria's expenditures.⁸⁸ Russia finances Nagorno-Karabakh's budget deficit of \$42M per year through Armenia, about 60% of NK's expenses. This commitment does not include the costs of its bases in Armenia and will continue to expand as Russia pulls troops and equipment out of the base in Akhalkalaki, Georgia and relocates them to Armenia.⁸⁹ Russia is bearing more than 80% of Abkhazia's 2005 budget of \$25M.⁹⁰

South Ossetia and Abkhazia both contribute to Russia's biggest security concern in Chechnya: porous borders. The first Chechen war cost about \$2B, and the current one is costing \$100-150M/month.⁹¹ These expenses do not include the eventual rebuilding costs of Chechnya. The real direct monetary cost to Russia of having unpoliced borders is the loss of tax revenue; however, the indirect cost comes from business that never took place. Trade between the various regions such as North and South Cyprus, Armenia and Azerbaijan, or Georgia and Russia has come to a near standstill.

At the end of the day, Russia and Turkey have much more to gain by settling the borders. As realists, Russians generally see territorial issues as a zero-sum game. However, no matter how important the territory in dispute is, studies show there is a great deal of value in simply reaching an agreement on a border. Most of the borders in question will require neutral peacekeepers from

⁸⁸ Industry Canada, *Strategic Market Report-Moldova*, <http://strategis.ic.gc.ca/epic/internet/inimr-ri.nsf/en/gr104979e.html> (accessed 24 Nov 2006).

⁸⁹ Jean-Christophe Peuch, "Caucasus: Top Armenian General Slams Azerbaijan Over Defense Spending," *RadioFreeEurope RadioLiberty*, June 29, 2005, <http://www.rferl.org/featuresarticle/2005/06/8cfe4cb9-12cc-47c2-8711-3a73d54ee677.html> (accessed 12 Jun 2006).

⁹⁰ Mariam Jatchvadze, "Self-Proclaimed Abkhazian Government Hopeful of New Budget," *24 Hours*, June 16, 2005, <http://www.24hours.ge/index.php?n=264&r=2&id=585> (accessed 12 Jun 2006).

⁹¹ Sam Vaknin, *The Chechen Theatre Ticket*, March 7, 2005, <http://samvak.tripod.com/brief-chechnya01.html> (accessed 24 Nov 2006).

EU/NATO nations for some time, but the act of reaching a formal agreement is a concrete demonstration of desire to commence stronger bilateral relations. The jurisdictional and policy uncertainty associated with an unsettled border creates higher costs and risks to doing business there. Beth Simmons proves exactly that in a 2005 study comparing trade across settled and unsettled borders.⁹² The entire Black Sea region will benefit from the stability proffered by settled frontiers. South Ossetia for example had lead and zinc mining, enamel factories, wood products industry, beer and fruit juice plants, but those industries are essential dead while the conflict remains unresolved.⁹³ The closed border between Armenia and Turkey has a similar effect on both regions.

Turkey also shoulders the economic costs of supporting North Cyprus. This appears to be at least \$550M over the years 2003-2006.⁹⁴ Though few states care about bills to the UN, the cost for patrolling the Green Line in TRNC was \$2B in 1998. The value of the real estate occupied by the UN is on the order of billions of dollars.⁹⁵ North Cyprus receives 30-40,000 tourists a year while South Cyprus welcomes over 2 million.

Turkey can either be a strategic partner or strategic competitor for Russia in the Black Sea region, and Turkey has a very fundamental interest in resolving the Nagorno-Karabakh issue at odds with the Russian position. The confrontation between Russia and Turkey over the issue did nothing to help relations between the two countries that are orders of magnitude more important than NK. Ultimately, Russia and Turkey must be convinced that they will gain

⁹² Beth Simmons, "Rules Over Real Estate," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49, no. 6 (December 2005): 828.

⁹³ Charles King, "The Benefits of Ethnic War," 537.

⁹⁴ CIA Factbook, "Cyprus," <https://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/cy.html> (accessed 3 Dec 2006).

⁹⁵ Hugh Barnes, "Ouzo and Coffee's Sudden Separation," *Financial Times*, Sep 18, 1999.

more influence in the course of friendly relations with each other and countries like Greece, Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan.

4. Diplomatic Strain

As Europe begins to consider the areas east more and more in its sphere of interest, the EU has put a large amount of diplomatic pressure on Russia. Russia is generally seen as the party preventing resolution of Kosovo's status. At the December 2005 OSCE summit, Russia was the diplomatic bad guy because it refused to approve the concluding document of the conference. The document contained a paragraph chastising Russia for its failure to remove its troops from Moldova and Georgia despite a 1999 agreement to do so and the wishes of both countries.⁹⁶ Though it has committed to a total withdrawal from the two bases in Georgia by 2008, it has resolutely refused to close its Gudauta base in Abkhazia which it alternately claims is only open for morale purposes and supporting CIS peacekeeping forces.⁹⁷

Georgia has made long strides toward joining NATO over the last three years. During this time they have helped focus NATO's attention on these conflicts including a visit by US President Bush in May 2005. Both Georgia and Moldova have proposed semi autonomous regions for the areas in question with full minority rights for the ethnic Ukrainians, Russians, Ossetians, and Abkhazians in accordance with EU standards on the issues. There are few ethnic proposals Russia can offer the regions besides citizenship in a Russia that still includes dozens of nationalities. In any negotiations between the EU and Russia involving Romania, the first issue is always Transnistria.

⁹⁶ Roland Eggleston, "OSCE: Final Text Nixed after Dispute on Russian Troops in Moldova," *RadioFreeEurope RadioLiberty*, 6 Dec 2005, <http://www.rferl.org/featuresarticle/2005/12/0aace2d9-9ffd-4384-bb4a-54788321404b.html> (accessed 24 Nov 2006).

⁹⁷ Vladimir Socor, "Russia's Retention of Gudauta Base," *Eurasia Daily Monitor* 3, no. 99 (May 22, 2006), http://www.jamestown.org/edm/article.php?article_id=2371105 (accessed 24 Nov 2006).

There are also aspects of diplomacy that aid Russia's territorial ambitions. The West requires Russian support on a host of issues like North Korea, Iran and terrorism.⁹⁸ These are all much more important to the West than the status of a few million people spread throughout the southern part of the former Soviet Union. Russia realizes this and uses it to its advantage. However, Europe and the United States are gradually increasing the pressure as are the countries themselves.

5. Chechnya/Kurdistan Precedent

At the present time it appears that the international community will grant some sort of independent status to Kosovo. However, the United States and the EU states have stated that any settlement in Kosovo is a unique case. It has no precedent for other conflicts.⁹⁹ This position is advantageous for Russia and Turkey in that if ethnic self determination became primary over sovereignty, both countries have much more to lose than to gain. At some future point, Chechnya could demand the same treatment if it were otherwise. Furthermore, Russia is famously made up of more than 100 nationalities. Some might easily cite the Kosovo precedent were it to be applied more universally. The same applies to Kurdistan in Turkey. With the possibility of an independent Kurdistan in Iraq, Turkey has no interest in an international precedent advocating ethnic groups' right to succession. In addition, Russia's ally on the UN Security Council, China will not support any change in the international order of sovereignty over ethnic self-determination because of its issue with Taiwan.

⁹⁸ Vladimir Dvorkin, "Prevention vs. Punishment," *Russia in Global Affairs* (Nov. 16, 2002) <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/numbers/1/446.html> (accessed 24 Nov 2006).

⁹⁹ Michael Polt-US Ambassador to Serbia-Montenegro, interview *B92 TV*, 28 Feb 2006, http://www.b92.net/eng/insight/tvshows.php?yyyy=2006&mm=02&nav_id=34189 (accessed 24 Nov 2006).

E. RUSSIAN ACCEPTANCE OF PAST US/EU ISSUES

Russia has shown itself willing to accept decisions that represent the consensus of the United States and EU even when these decisions do not directly aid it. When there is disagreement, Russia feels free to pick the side that favors it the most, but when presented with a united front, Russia tends to acquiesce. This is evident in a variety of post-Yeltsin policy issues. Overall, Russia's future is with Europe, and it voluntarily cooperates and coordinates with EU policy.¹⁰⁰

NATO has made two post cold war expansions; three if one includes the German Democratic Republic. All of these have been opposed by Russia to a greater or lesser extent. One of the more contentious issues was including the three Baltic States because of their status as former Soviet republics. Russia has gained access to some aspects of NATO decision making as a diplomatic concession, but even that was far short of their desire for a veto on NATO action.

Before September 11, 2001, the Ballistic Missile Defense Treaty was a major sticking point between the US and Russia. The US had all but decided to withdraw from the treaty and Russia was dead set against amending it. Russia did try to use the issue to divide the US and Europe, but was unsuccessful.¹⁰¹ After 9-11, Russia withdrew their objections. They still publicly lamented its passing, but demanded no quid pro quo.

In the on-going diplomacy over Iran, Iraq, and terrorism Russia has also followed a united West and cherry-picked when the West was not united. The run up to the Iraq war was a textbook example of Russia working to exploit a fissure in the West. It is doubtful that Russia would have opposed the United

¹⁰⁰ Sophia Clement-Noguier, "Russia, the European Union, and NATO after September 11," in *Russia's Engagement with the West*, eds. Motyl, Ruble & Shevtsova (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc. 2005), 248.

¹⁰¹ *The Economist*, "Can Russia Handle a Changed World?" Vol 360, no.8237 (Sep 1, 2001): 9.

States had the EU not been divided.¹⁰² After the conclusion of the war, the UN has proceeded in the general direction of aiding the rebuilding there and Russia has again fallen into line. When Russia determined that the EU-3 plus the US were absolutely united regarding Iran's nuclear program, it persuaded China to join it in backing sanctions. As early as 2003, Moscow has cooperated with the West in controlling Iran's nuclear fuel production, storage and disposal. Russia also offered its territory to be used for transportation of supplies for the war effort and some other operations.¹⁰³

F. LIMITATIONS

Full implementation of any policy initiative aimed at resolving the frozen conflicts will require Western troops, most likely NATO or OSCE, along borders. The primary "third party" policing the borders has been Russia, and the Russians have proven themselves unable to remain impartial or incorruptible. The UN forces along the Abkhazia-Georgia border have been ineffective at stopping multiple violent incursions or restoring refugees. The UN patrolled green line through Cyprus has prevented any major violence, but has contributed nothing in the way of a solution to the problem, and has further isolated both sides of the island from one another.

The OSCE observers on the South Ossetian border with Russia were effective enough for Russia to refuse to renew their mandate. The OSCE has indicated a willingness to return to any of the conflicts once consensus is reached.¹⁰⁴ The western presence required will be similar to that in Macedonia

¹⁰² Dmitri Trenin, "Russia's Security Integration with America and Europe," in *Russia's Engagement with the West*, eds. Motyl, Ruble & Shevtsova (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc. 2005), 282.

¹⁰³ Dmitri Trenin, "Russia and Global Security Norms," *The Washington Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (Spring 2004): 69.

¹⁰⁴ Ahto Lobjakas, "OSCE: Russia Key to New Presidency's Attempt to Resolve Frozen Conflicts," *RadioFreeEurope RadioLiberty*, (Jan 11, 2006).

instead of anything on the scale of Bosnia. It would be largely peace keeping, but must be prepared to use force if necessary. In addition, the potential for a Russian-Western conflict must be avoided by first removing Russian troops from the majority of the conflict areas. Russian Defense Minister Ivanov argued in 2005 that Russia could not withdraw its troops from Georgia until it could build bases for those troops in Russia.¹⁰⁵ Obviously, this is a difficult issue for Russia to overcome. The opportunity to incorporate them in a multilateral command such as the various forces in Bosnia during the 1990s does not exist because of the ill will by most of the sovereigns.

Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Europe Kurt Volker said in an interview that the United States cannot station troops along these borders alone for diplomatic reasons, but would be able and willing to do this as part of a NATO coalition. He also believes that a number of NATO or EU countries would contribute troops to these missions.¹⁰⁶ The potential costs for a peacekeeping mission on such a small scale are miniscule compared to the long-term trade benefits or the cost of future peace making missions should a less legitimate player try to enforce a solution.

G. CONCLUSION

The key to a NATO/EU solution is its legitimacy. The primary third party in the frozen conflicts is a partial Russia who has lost credibility in the region for acting as such. Russia has used each of the frozen conflicts to continue its military presence in the region. Though Russia perceives the areas on its southern border as its exclusive domain for foreign policy, it can no longer impose its will there without the world looking on. Maintaining the conflicts

¹⁰⁵ Stephen Blank, "A Framework for Unfreezing Eurasia's Conflicts," 51.

¹⁰⁶ Alexander Rahr, "Russia-European Union-Germany," in *Russia's Engagement with the West*, eds. Motyl, Ruble & Shevtsova (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc. 2005), 234.

have begun to impose increasing costs monetarily, politically, diplomatically and domestically. Turkey especially has much to gain by settling the conflicts in which it is involved.

At some point these costs will exceed what Russia is willing to bear to retain its national identity of the Soviet empire. Russia needs to be saved from its own view that weak states on its borders make it somehow more secure.¹⁰⁷ The increase in terrorism and organized crime is chipping away at the country's domestic will. The monetary costs are not high enough to constrict Russia unless the energy market meets severe problems. The problems associated with having economically depressed border regions are legendary and not yet part of Russia's calculus of the conflicts. Diplomatically, North America and Europe are working to give higher visibility to the problems there. As these problems come to light, it appears few will side with Russia, and all of Russia's diplomatic goals will be more difficult to achieve. Politically, Russia's most vulnerable area is the precedent that changing borders to suit ethnic determination could have on the multitude of nationalities inside Russia itself.

Russia has and will concede its policy choices if met with a western world united behind a particular issue and will at some point accept negotiated changes to frozen conflicts without the use of force. To convince Russia of its sincerity concerning this policy choice, the West will have to provide ground forces and persuade Russia to withdraw its in advance of those forces. The longer these stalemates are allowed to remain, the more difficult they will be resolve and the more unintended consequences they will have to Russia and to the west regarding organized crime, terrorism, trafficking, and the precedent of ethnic determination over sovereignty.

¹⁰⁷ Stephen Blank, "A Framework for Unfreezing Eurasia's Conflicts," 52.

IV. FROZEN CONFLICTS—SOVEREIGNTY AND ETHNIC DETERMINATION

In the post-war period, the definition of sovereignty has migrated from the ability to control and defend one's borders and provide basic governmental services to a more territorial definition. Over the last sixty years, international custom has not required the existence of an effective government for the international community to recognize the boundaries of states emerging from former empires.¹⁰⁸ This new trend in customary international law was extended to the descendants of the Soviet and Yugoslav empires with destructive effects. Though most Eastern European countries peacefully concluded their experiments with communism, some of the more ethnically diverse ones found reasons to contest the borders established by the former empires.

These regions tax the underlying dilemma between sovereignty and self-determination. Many scholars have weighed in regarding which should take precedence and by how much. Just as in other decolonized regions, various groups challenged the boundaries that had been put into place decades ago, and no international body was strong enough or agile enough to mediate the disputes quickly. Though various groups like NATO and the UN did finally step in to mitigate the violence in some of the former Yugoslavia, the former Soviet sphere seemed to be beyond their reach. As Europe is extending its zone of peace west, it is now well past time to address the few remaining trouble spots on the continent.

¹⁰⁸ William Slomanson, *Fundamental perspectives on International Law* (Belmont, California: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2003), 248.

A. CHANGING DEFINITIONS OF SOVEREIGNTY

Prior to the First World War a state was sovereign if it could control its territory. If it could not protect and police its people or defend its borders, it was often overrun by a neighboring state that could. The Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 is generally credited with being the first attempt to define sovereignty. It set out four principles:

- 1) States have a fundamental right to decide by who and how they want to be governed.
- 2) States are equal.
- 3) States make treaties that they are then expected to uphold.
- 4) States should not interfere in the internal affairs of other States.¹⁰⁹

The Westphalian principles present the genesis of international diplomacy and of the move from estates to states. These principles have been violated dozens of times throughout Europe since 1648, but their definition of sovereignty forms the basis of today's international legal system.

Despite the emergence of non-intervention and mutual respect as an ideal, the world generally continued to follow the realist view. States continued to make treaties and break them when convenient. When considering the use of force they pondered whether it was wise, not whether it was lawful.¹¹⁰ They tended to only recognize forceful annexations of territory. In the oft quoted words of Thucydides, "The strong do what they can and the weak suffer what

¹⁰⁹ *Yale Law School: Avalon Project*, "Treaty of Westphalia, October 24, 1648," <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/westphal.htm> (accessed 24 Nov 2006).

¹¹⁰ Michael Glennon, "Why the Security Council Failed," *Foreign Affairs* 82, no. 3, (May/June 2003): 18.

they must.”¹¹¹ However, the underlying trend was to imagine a treaty to be one’s word and thus some form of ethical if not legal code.

At the conclusion of the First World War, Europe formed the League of Nations. There were high hopes at the time that this organization could define that legal code that was so elusive and turn battlefield conflicts into decisions made by gentlemen over a conference table. Nevertheless, the great powers of Britain, France and Italy had little interest in letting their power be constrained by small nations. The League proved unable to discipline the great powers or back any of its decisions with force. By the late 1920s the League as a forum for adjudicating international disputes was simply becoming more and more irrelevant.

The dissolution of the German, Russian, Hapsburg and Ottoman empires required a reallocation of the territory in Central Europe. The United States was crucial during the interwar period in the push for self-determination. Nation-states were generally created around common languages. It was presumed that the League of Nations would be able to adjudicate any remaining misallocations over time.¹¹² The creation of many small states also served the purposes of Western Europe’s great powers in that it kept a buffer between Russia and Germany.

In 1933 the Montevideo Conference produced a document defining the internationally accepted qualifications to be considered a state that generally hold true today:

¹¹¹ Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War Book 5 Chapter 7*, trans. Richard Crawley, <http://www.wellesley.edu/ClassicalStudies/CLCV102/Thucydides--MelianDialogue.html> (accessed 24 Nov 2006).

¹¹² David Knight, “Territory and People or People and Territory?” *International Political Science Review* 6, no. 2 (1985): 257.

- 1) A permanent population.
- 2) A defined territory.
- 3) Government.
- 4) The capacity to enter into relations with other states.¹¹³

If a state satisfied these four qualifications, then it could expect to be awarded sovereignty over its territory. After the Second World War, the UN became the awarding authority of global recognition. A seat in the UN General Assembly was often awarded once a few of the great powers recognized the fledgling country; thus, the nation could then enter into state to state relations.

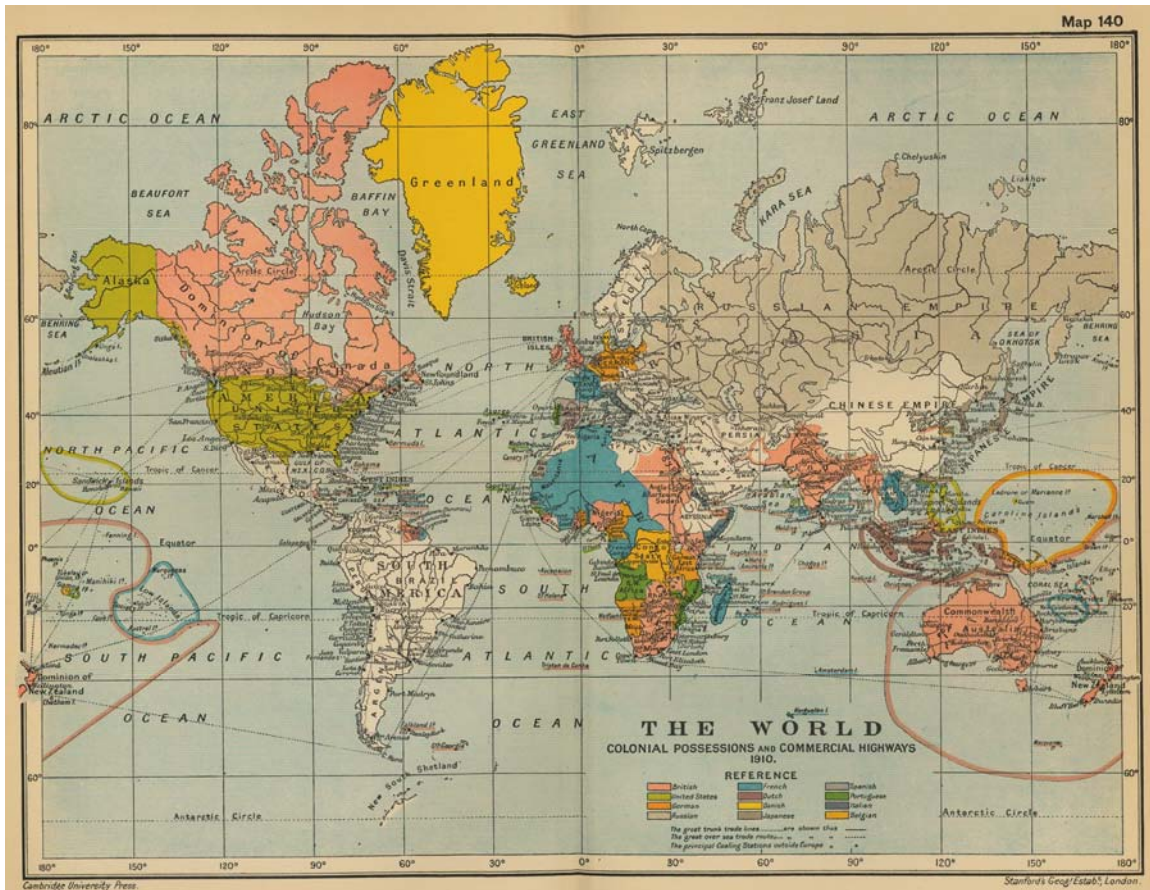


Figure 12. 1910 Map of Colonial Possessions (From University of Texas)¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Yale Law School: Avalon Project, "Article 1, Convention of Rights and Duties of States, December 26, 1933," <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/intdip/interam/intam03.htm> (accessed 24 Nov 2006).

After the Second World War, the overseas empires of the great powers of the world began to dissolve. The transfer of sovereignty from colonizing countries to colonized ones was done quickly and without an emphasis on strong institutions or borders defined by ethnic divisions. New countries were automatically given a defined territory and the population that accompanied the land. These were nearly always taken from the somewhat random boundaries established in colonial times (*Uti Possidetis—As You Possess*). Especially, but not solely in Africa, the borders bore little or no relationship to traditional boundaries between the indigenous peoples there. Nearly all new nation-states were thus multi-ethnic, and the people often had allegiances to nations that spread across borders. This new standard of sovereignty allowed colonies to be internationally recognized as nations and provided a seat in the UN General Assembly before they were states in the historic sense of the word.

Of the Montevideo requirements, government was the one most relaxed to deal with the pressures of decolonization. New governments were blessed as stable and capable by the decolonizing powers and sent on their way with little long-term hope of sustainability. They were duly accepted by the UN, yet they were never able to fulfill the traditional roles of government, most notably security. However, once recognized, the borders of these states became inviolable. A gradual standard emerged to obtain sovereignty that did not involve a capability to govern or power to maintain borders.¹¹⁵

Self-determination was not applied to mother countries. In the 45 years after Second World War only three, extremely minor border changes occurred in

¹¹⁴ *University of Texas Library*, "1910 Map of Colonial Possessions and Commercial Highways," http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/history_world.html (accessed 2 Dec 2006).

¹¹⁵ Sabino Cassese, "The Rise and Decline of the Notion of State," *International Political Science Review* 7, no. 2 (1986): 125.

Europe. In the first of these, the Soviets persuaded Czechoslovakia to give up Ruhenia in the late 1940s. The second saw the Istria peninsula split between Italy and Yugoslavia giving Trieste to the Italians and the remainder of the region to Tito in 1954. Finally, in 1974, Turkey invaded the island of Cyprus to defend a repressed Turkish minority, and established a still unrecognized Turkish state on the northern part of the island. The first two should be seen as part of the aftermath of Second World War, but Cyprus is Europe's single post-war decolonization problem.¹¹⁶ Its troubles transpired because the British bestowed sovereignty on their former colony of Cyprus without providing it with a workable government.

The experiences of the states involved in post-1989 conflicts are similar to the decolonization experience. As the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia dissolved their empires, states were recognized according to the boundaries defined by Stalin and Tito. Stalin was known to have decided many of the Soviet boundaries in order to divide and conquer various nationalist groups.¹¹⁷ Many of the newly independent states like Georgia or Bosnia had no ability to provide security and were extremely susceptible to ethnic tensions due to poorly drawn borders, yet the international community recognized them almost immediately. Inevitably nationalist tensions arose in many of the newly independent countries that had weak institutions, and due to the custom of inviolable borders, the secessionist movements were not recognized.

B. SELF DETERMINATION VS SOVEREIGNTY

The secessionist question of frozen conflicts is simply a matter of which basic principle takes pride of place: self-determination or sovereignty. The UN charter provides a most ambiguous answer. In Article 1 it lists guaranteeing self-

¹¹⁶ Disregarding Hungary of 1956 and Czechoslovakia of 1968.

¹¹⁷ Shireen T. Hunter, "Borders, Conflict, and Security in the Caucasus," 113.

determination as one of the primary purposes for which the UN is founded. However, in Article 2 the charter quickly states that territorial sovereignty is one of the basic principles that must always be followed. This paradox is reflected over and over throughout the post-Second World War world. UN General Assembly Resolution 1514 states, "All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."¹¹⁸ Generally, the right to self-determination is interpreted to apply to colonies of former empires of which Russia and Serbia are not part. The phrase "all people" is also taken to mean the total population of a state, not minorities within the state.¹¹⁹ In any case, the right to self-determination was only to apply to colonial territories, not mother nations.

Many scholars have also weighed in on the issue. One pole of legal theorists would allow any group to determine its government. This argument as put forth by Daniel Philpott is based mostly on Jean Jacques Rousseau and utopian ideals of advancement of democracy.¹²⁰ This argument is unconvincing and illogical, since it would lead to a return to a tribal world. For any government to be workable, international law must allow it to legitimately claim jurisdiction over an area without receiving the consent of all inside its territory.¹²¹ This is an important distinction because it shows that even in democracies, states do not need the consent of all citizens to justify sovereignty over their territory. Famously, George W. Bush in 2004 was the first United States

¹¹⁸ United Nations General Assembly, "Resolution 1514, Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples," December 14, 1960, <http://www.gibnet.com/texts/un1514.htm> (accessed 24 Nov 2006).

¹¹⁹ David Knight, "Territory and People or People and Territory?" 263.

¹²⁰ Daniel Philpott, "In Defense of Self-Determination," *Ethics* 105, no.2, (January 1995): 376.

¹²¹ Christopher Wellman, "A Defense of Secession and Political Self-Determination," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 24, no. 2 (Spring, 1995): 155.

president to earn an absolute majority of votes since his father achieved it in 1988. It is also rare for multi-party governments to achieve a majority. There are more nations of peoples in the world than the world has capacity for different governments.

Since secession must involve a claim to territory, adjudicating the claim becomes a decision as to which party's claim is stronger. Thus the problem becomes one of defining what constitutes a strong claim to territory.¹²² Unfortunately, there appear to be many more cultural and ethnic groups than there are territories, and history is full of many examples of territory unjustly taken. It becomes problematic to decide which particular group has any claim to a particular piece of land.¹²³ One perspective allows for secession based on past discrimination or unjust treatment. This is often confused with self-determination, but is vastly different. Just as a personal right to self-defense does not mean a person can do anything to defend themselves, (a minor threat to a person does not justify lethal force) so too do a people not necessarily have the right to dissolve a state if they are threatened in a less than catastrophic way.¹²⁴

Lea Brilmayer uses the criteria of "legitimate historical grievance" to define those that might be allowed to petition for independence. In other words, does the group face a threat and cannot be safe under the current sovereign? This definition seems to raise more questions than it answers, because it does not define threat well. Brilmayer considers invasion or illegal annexation a threat, but states that other things as well could be threats.¹²⁵ Economic or ethnic discrimination could be considered a threat. Even a state forcing a national

¹²² Christopher Wellman, "A Defense of Secession and Political Self-Determination," 144.

¹²³ Allen Buchanan, "Toward a Theory of Secession," *Ethics* 101, no. 2 (Jan 1991): 329.

¹²⁴ Allen Buchanan, "Toward a Theory of Secession," 333.

¹²⁵ Lea Brilmayer, "Secession and Self-Determination: A Territorial Interpretation," *Yale Journal of International Law* 19 (1991): 180.

language upon ethnic minorities could be considered threatening. Kosovo would obviously fall under Brilmayer's criteria, as its population was under direct threat of life and liberty. The Turkish minority in Cyprus and the Chechens might as well, but the definition of threat must be extended a long way to include the remainder of the conflicts.

Harry Beran takes a different tack by listing reasons that might preclude secession. Primary among his reasons would be if the group wishing to secede is too small to fulfill the responsibilities of a state. He also denies a right to secede if the area is not on the border of the existing state and would create an enclave. Beran's third reason is if the area is culturally, economically, or militarily critical to the existing state.¹²⁶ Beran ignores the security concerns of neighboring countries in his analysis. Not only do few of the de facto states have any prospect of being self-sufficient, but most of them constitute threats to the region through organized crime or general instability. All but North Cyprus and Abkhazia are landlocked. None of them have significant mineral or agricultural resources. Most of their governments are funded by activities that would be illegal under the sovereignty of the mother state.

More realistically, the ability to secede from a state is much more a political decision made by the world community. If the great powers of the world do not agree with the cause, it is generally unsuccessful. To this end a list of actions required to gain legitimacy for one's cause might include: 1) a true exhaustion of peaceful means (including mediation by other states and NGOs) to resolve the dispute between the mother country and the wronged group; 2) a

¹²⁶ Harry Beran, *The Consent Theory of Political Obligation*, (London: Routledge Kegan & Paul, 1987), 42.

vote showing that secession is indeed the will of at least a majority of the group; and 3) resorting to force and claiming independence is only a means of last resort.¹²⁷

These discussions of self-determination overlook an important factor in most of Europe's frozen conflicts, that of outside influence. With the exception of Kosovo whose independence is supported by a large number of states with very little if anything to gain from it, all of the de facto states in Europe have an outside benefactor who is manipulating the ethnic situation for its own gain. Russia could even gain territory in South Ossetia and Abkhazia. Turkey could easily be awarded Northern Cyprus. Moscow has been actively cultivating instability to keep its former colonies weak. Transnistria is trying to secede largely for economic reasons. If Moscow were not providing support, it would not be able to sustain its de facto independence. In most of the cases, ethnic concerns are largely immaterial to the secessionist movement. In Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Transnistria and Chechnya there does not appear to be even majority support for secession if refugees are returned to the region.

According to international law, all of the unrecognized states including Kosovo currently belong to the country from which they wish to secede. Only Northern Cyprus has even been recognized by any UN member (Turkey). The status of Abkhazia was defined in the 1999 OSCE summit in Istanbul: signed by Russia, the United States, and European powers that affirmed "strong support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Georgia" and branded earlier presidential elections in Abkhazia as "unacceptable and illegitimate."¹²⁸ The

¹²⁷ Jonathan I. Charney, "Self-Determination: Chechnya, Kosovo and East Timor," *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law* 34, no 2 (March 2001): 74.

¹²⁸ Michael A. Weinstein, "Russia's Slippery Foothold in Abkhazia," *Power & Interest News Report* (18 October 2004), http://www.pinr.com/report.php?ac=view_report&report_id=224&language_id=1 (accessed 24 Nov 2006).

political signal of recognition is so strong that even Armenia has refrained from recognizing Nagorno-Karabakh. Worldwide, only Eritrea has ever made the transition from de facto state to sovereign state.¹²⁹

One of the more contentious issues is whether granting independence to Kosovo sets a precedent for all regions requesting secession. The United States and Europe maintain that if Kosovo is given independence from Serbia, it is an exceptional case and should not establish a precedent. Putin on the other hand has done everything to equate Kosovo's independence with the independence of the other de facto states.

The easy solution to the problem is to say that self determination is only permissible when all parties agree through a vote, and otherwise territorial integrity is absolute. Recent examples in Europe are Germany's reunification, the breakup of Czechoslovakia, and Montenegro's recent vote for independence. In these cases, all parties agreed to the outcome of the self determination. Had the Slovaks not wanted to separate from the Czechs, the country would have likely stayed together. In the Montenegro case, the EU imposed a 55% threshold requirement on the vote for independence as well as a 50% voter turnout requirement. Having some sort of supermajority to change the status quo is logical as is a voter turnout requirement. Perhaps even higher requirements than the ones advocated by the EU might be specified by some regional organization or the UN.

Conceivably a universal way for ethnic self-determination to outweigh sovereignty would be if a supermajority (two-thirds to three-quarters) vote in a free and fair (monitored and certified by an outside source) election for

¹²⁹ Scott Pegg, *International Society and the De Facto State* (Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 1998), 11.

independence. This would need to be after 5-10 years of uncontested peace thus allowing any refugees to return. International peacekeepers would be required to monitor and possibly enforce such an uncontested peace. A solution such as this would probably mean independence for Kosovo, North Cyprus and possibly Nagorno-Karabakh. However, Montenegro's vote was the first attempt to demand some sort of standard for secession and the question remains largely a political one, not a legal one.

C. POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

Since there are no legal standards to determine legitimacy of secessionist movements, there are no international forums to reliably adjudicate them. Once a state is recognized by the international community, its borders become extremely resistant to change. The UN charter does not recognize changes to borders by force, and the international community is reluctant to set a precedent of recognizing secessionist movements. Thus a tremendous bias toward the status quo remains in international geopolitics. Various options are available to mediate the conflicts, but they all have the possibility of setting new precedent. In addition, most of the secessionist regimes will require the imposition of a solution upon them. Thus, any solution will require peace-keeping forces and possibly peace-making.

1. UN as the Adjudicator

The United Nations is the most logical venue to adjudicate territorial disputes, but the least practical. When an issue coincides with the interests of all five veto holding powers, the organization actually functions similar to how it was envisioned. Chapter VII of the UN charter gives it the power to intervene with whatever means are necessary to correct wrongs. It even envisions the power to raise armed forces from its members under UN command to police the globe, though this has never been implemented and likely never will.

Unfortunately, it is a rare thing for all permanent members of the Security Council to agree on where and when the use of force is justified.

The two historical cases of major, UN supported combat operations are in the 1950 decision to send UN troops to Korea and the 1990 resolution to evict Iraq from Kuwait. In both of these cases strong leadership in Washington pushed a vote and led the forces in combat. Special circumstances allowed a consensus in both cases as well. In 1950, the Soviet representative was boycotting the assembly due to another matter. His absence provided the opportunity to avoid his veto. In the second case, the Soviet Union was reeling from the events in Europe and on the verge of collapse itself. It was unable to exert any pressure to oppose the United States position.

Just eight years later, Russia showed itself to be strong enough to threaten a veto of any attempt by the UN Security Council to adopt a resolution to justify action against Serbia. Adjudication in the Security Council of the frozen conflicts on a case by case basis would only be possible in cases in which the US, UK, France, Russia and China are not involved or afraid of a precedent. The situations in Cyprus and Nagorno-Karabakh could conceivably be solved in this manner. In fact, the award of a North Cyprus state or annexation of it to Turkey could well be a quid pro quo to Turkic peoples for independence of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Outside of Korea and Kuwait, the UN has been effective only in peacekeeping roles. It has shown capability to send armed forces in only after peace is established. In June of 2005, the UN created a new body to handle post-conflict resolution, the UN Peacebuilding Commission. This body was created to give advice to warring parties at the conclusion of the conflict and prevent the

conflict from reigniting, but not to adjudicate conflict or enforce solutions. The UN has very little credibility in enforcing peace when the United States is not integrally involved.

Current discussions are calling for an increase in the number of permanent members in the Security Council as well as the Security Council itself. Germany, Japan, and India are the leading candidates. Africa and Brazil have continuously requested additional permanent seats with veto rights. Consolidating Britain and France's seats (as well as Germany's future seat) into an EU seat has been discussed, but is unlikely to transpire. Increasing the size of the council could either slow down an already hamstrung body and make it more difficult to obtain consensus, or it could create a larger western leaning majority pressuring Russia and China to concede more often.

The UN track record in the judicial arena is abysmal. For instance, the Hague tribunal established in 1996 to try Yugoslavian war crimes was laughably ineffective. Second rate justices were appointed to it. It was grossly under funded even by the powers who sought to establish it. Few UN members actively cooperated by providing evidence for it, and the entire thing was constrained by the stifling political bureaucracy that affects everything the UN does. It was the perfect example of "creating an institution that would give the appearance of moral concern."¹³⁰

The UN's state creation has a similar record. The first time the UN involved itself in establishing a nation where one had not existed earlier was also its last. It created the state of Israel in 1949 after a carefully studied program and an overwhelming vote in favor of it, yet the Arab members fought the decision and continue to dispute it today.

¹³⁰ Gary Bass, *Stay the Hand of Vengeance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 207.

2. Creation of New Courts for Border Issues

A closely related solution is to create a new court to adjudicate disputes or form a court for each dispute. This solution is likely to be even more unworkable than simply using the UN. Any UN created venue would have the same problems with the UN Security Council. Jurisdiction of domestic courts in the various countries would always be in question, and they could never be counted on to be impartial.

Some sort of EU forum could conceivably claim jurisdiction over European border disputes, but would have to have an inordinately strong backbone to deal with Russian objections. Kosovo and Cyprus would be the two cases in which EU courts would have a strong claim to jurisdiction. Courts created to address specific incidents are expensive to fund and notably difficult to set-up, staff, and administer. Furthermore, there is simply no solid legal basis upon which to formally judge most disputes over territory. Finally, any court would have to request military forces from volunteers to enforce its solution.

3. Regional Body as Adjudicator

The solution that represents the largest consensus and the least amount of bureaucracy would be to have a regional power such as NATO, OSCE or the EU decide the issue politically. This solution also has the advantage of having a built in enforcement mechanism. Russia also has the ability to settle the conflicts in Transnistria, Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Chechnya itself, but would suffer diplomatically if it were to further violate the sovereignty of Moldova and Georgia. Should it decide to return its troops to Russia and cut funding for the unrecognized states it would correspondingly gain in diplomatic circles.

All of the conflicts are political decisions much more than legal ones and will require various regional bodies to decide them. Greece and Cyprus are part

of the EU and would resist some logical options regarding Cyprus. No matter what the fate of the other conflicts, Russia would never tolerate foreign interference in its Chechnya dilemma. NATO cannot be used in N-K or Cyprus because of Turkey's membership. Russia must be excluded from the decision making regarding Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Transnistria because of its interests in them.

The OSCE has a mechanism to exclude up to two parties from its decision making process, but has been extremely reluctant to use this option. Atlantic parties in OSCE have acknowledged this deficiency and have begun discussing a change to remove the requirement for consensus altogether.¹³¹ However, this cuts at the heart of the organization. It is intended to be all inclusive at the expense of accomplishing actions contrary to even one of its member's objectives.¹³² In addition, its military arm has only deployed into situations in which an agreement is already in place. It has no history of involvement in hostile operations.

D. CONCLUSION

Questions of territory are among most contentious in world politics and disputes over it have the greatest effects. All parties benefit in multiple ways (economic, diplomatically, lower defense spending) when the dispute is settled; however, the frozen conflicts have shown themselves to extremely recalcitrant. The involved parties will not negotiate with each other and the outside powers that are acting to preserve the conflicts in most of the cases have no incentive to solve them either. They require an outside organization to impose a solution.

¹³¹ OSCE PA International Secretariat, "Survival of the OSCE Requires Change in Consensus Rule," News from Copenhagen, 23 Feb 2004, http://www.osce.org/documents/html/pdftohtml/2164_en.pdf.html (accessed 24 Nov 2006).

¹³² Center for OSCE Research, "The Culture of Dialogue, the OSCE Acquis 30 Years after Helsinki," 2005, http://www.osce.org/documents/osce/2005/07/15787_en.pdf (accessed 24 Nov 2006).

Russia has veto power in the UN and Turkey is part of NATO, so those organizations cannot be used in conflicts that involve those players. In addition, some sort of military force will be required initially to impose the solution. In all cases, the credible threat of force should be sufficient to impose solutions.

Unfortunately for the refugees and economic well being in these areas, frozen conflicts are not a primary issue for any large power other than Moscow. As the decision is mostly political and there are no clear-cut legal solutions, the Western states are likely to let it remain on the back burner until NATO and the EU get closer to incorporating some of the countries involved.¹³³ At the present time Russian cooperation on Iran, energy, terrorism, and North Korea are far more important to the West. China will not favor secessionist regions because of its issues with Taiwan. The question of self-determination versus sovereignty will fall to sovereignty for the foreseeable future. On the positive side of the ledger for Europe, the only remaining zones of conflict on the continent are remote and somewhat inconsequential. They can easily be solved if and when Russia elects to cooperate. That timetable will be determined by united policy of the Western democracies.

¹³³ Tim Potier, "Conflict Conundrums," *The National Interest* 83, (Spring 2006): 90.

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V. SUCCESSES OF UNITED EU/NATO POLICY

The countries associated with the European Union and NATO make up the majority of the oldest democracies in the world. These countries are 60% of the states ranked “1” for political rights by Freedom House.¹³⁴ These two international organizations have the legitimacy behind their decisions to arbitrate European and near European disputes without becoming bogged down in the bureaucracy of the UN or OSCE. When EU and United States policy coincide and the policy is backed with force, the outcomes have nearly always been successful.

The success of EU/US policy endeavors is demonstrated in the expansion of NATO after 1995 and the resolution of conflicts in Croatia, Bosnia, Macedonia, and Kosovo. European conflicts in which the EU and the United States have chosen not to impose a solution, have become frozen: Cyprus, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Nagorno-Karabakh Transnistria, and Chechnya.

A. HOW TO DECIDE BORDERS

The UN was originally created to lend legitimacy to decisions of territory and sovereignty, but was hamstrung after 1946 by the emergence of the Cold war. Very few issues were brought to a vote, and the lack of an enforcement mechanism fostered a pessimistic view of UN statecraft. The Soviet Union used 118 vetoes in the UN Security Council prior to 1991, far more than any other nation.¹³⁵ Another factor was the number of new nations that entered the UN during the process of decolonization. Most of these new nations had no democracy or a very weak democracy at best. The net result of this was a

¹³⁴ If one removes small Caribbean and Pacific Island nations from the survey, EU/NATO countries make up 85%. <http://www.freedomhouse.org> (accessed 24 Nov 2006).

¹³⁵ Tarik Kafala, “The UN Security Council Veto Record,” The Wisdom Fund (10 March 2003), <http://www.twf.org/News/Y2003/0312-Veto.html> (accessed 10 Jun 2006).

watered down decision making process that often faced a veto in the Security Council and lacked any enforcement mechanism.

For a brief time in the 1990s, it appeared that the UN could live up to its original charter. The coalition that formed around the defense of Kuwait in 1990 and 1991 was remarkable and effective. Unfortunately for the UN's long-term effectiveness, the 1999 conflict over Kosovo faced a Russian veto. Despite the lack of UN approval, NATO pursued action against Serbia undermining the UN for a humanitarian cause. The United States and Britain went to war in 2003 again without a specific UN mandate to do so, but this time was in the pursuit of regime change. It could be argued that the intent of NATO's 1999 action was for Serbian regime change, and that the number of UN resolutions concerning Iraq had already undermined that organization's credibility. In any case, it is apparent that the UN is not an effective organization for resolving conflicts; especially ones in which any of the nations with a veto has a stake.

The major difference between NATO (or a US/EU coalition) imposing a solution and the great powers of old is the level of legitimacy. US/NATO/EU make up the vast majority of the world's true democracies. If they are able to reach a consensus on an issue, it is likely to be a just decision. More importantly, the majority of the world will agree to it. Furthermore, they have the preponderance of force available to enforce the decision. No other world or regional organization or coalition possesses these attributes: legitimacy, efficiency, and capability.

B. EU/NATO INVOLVEMENT RESOLVED CONFLICTS

POST 1989 RESHUFFLE, PEACEFUL	POST 1989 RESHUFFLE, INTERNATIONAL PEACEMAKING/ PEACEKEEPING	POST 1989 RESHUFFLE, NO INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION	MISCELLANEOUS
GERMANY CZECHOSLOVAKIA MOST FSU SLOVENIA	BOSNIA CROATIA MACEDONIA KOSOVO	ABKHAZIA SOUTH OSSETIA CHECHNYA TRANSNISTRIA NAGORNO- KARABAKH	CYPRUS TRIESTE

Table 2. European Border Changes After World War II.

The attributes that combine to give the West credibility derive from what the NATO treaty describes as the principles of free institutions but more commonly known as common values.¹³⁶ Overwhelmingly this common value is liberal democracy. Even with the current rise of anti-Western opinion in the Middle East, democratic states are typically judged to be more just in their decisions than those that are not democratic. Since the conclusion of the cold war, NATO and the EU have shown themselves to be effective at resolving issues when they are united on the matter. When the West lacks agreement or remains uninvolved, the conflict becomes frozen.

1. NATO Enlargement 1989-2004

The most important success North America and Europe have enjoyed in the post-cold war era is the expansion of stable, free market, democracies into Central Europe. In fact, the process was carried out so deftly, that in retrospect, it seems as though it could have happened no other way. However, from the reunification of Germany in 1990 to the accession of three former Soviet states in

¹³⁶ North Atlantic Treaty, 4 April 1949, <http://www.nato.int/docu/basic/txt/treaty.htm> (accessed 24 Nov 2006).

2004, it represents a phenomenal level of efficient diplomacy that would not have happened had the United States and Europe not aligned their position perfectly.

The US and Europe coordinated their efforts to teach and mentor ten former communist countries toward the west, and are working to the same ends with many more. The scope of the success is best seen when contrasted with other possibilities like Serbia or Belarus. States such as Hungary and Romania have as many ethnic problems as Serbia but chose another path. All Central European nations had repressive communist regimes prior to 1989 and some had nationalist leaders after that date. Through careful management of incentives and punishments, democracy was the victor in the vast majority of states.¹³⁷



Figure 13. Current NATO Countries with 2004 Accessions in Dark Brown (From NATO Maintenance and Supply Agency)¹³⁸

An additional concern has been Russian acceptance of NATO enlargement. Initially, Russia made clear that it was opposed to enlargement.¹³⁹ Once again, a common policy direction between the United States and EU included Russia in the pre-made decision and allowed Russia to save face. Had

¹³⁷ Alexandra Gheciu, *NATO in the "New Europe,"* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 5.

¹³⁸ NATO Maintenance and Supply Agency, "Current NATO Countries," http://www.namsa.nato.int/Customers/customers_e.htm (29 Oct 2006).

¹³⁹ J.L. Black, *Russia Faces NATO Expansion: Bearing Gifts or Bearing Arms?* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), 221.

the West highlighted Russia's weakness, Yeltsin, who's popular support was already non-existent, would not have been able to make the concessions that he did. Had any of the Western nations not been in favor of the policy, the NATO incentive might never have been available to offer to Central Europe. More importantly, the pretext of NATO consultations would not have been available to mentor the emerging democracies westward.

2. Croatia and Bosnia

Most of the examples of successful Western efforts resolving conflicts are in the former Yugoslavia. Croatia and Bosnia have been exceptional cases. They begin in the early 1990s with Franjo Tudjman in Croatia and Slobodan Milosevic in Serbia deciding how to divide Bosnia, and continue into the mid-1990s with brutal ethnic cleansing throughout the area. Croatia remained a major player in the conflict in Bosnia and suffered many attacks on its territory including in the capital, Zagreb.



Figure 14. Map of the Former Yugoslavia Showing Primary Ethnic Divisions
(From Montenet)¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰ Montenet, "Map of Ethnic Divisions in Former Yugoslavia," www.montenet.org/geograph/geograph.htm (26 Oct 2006).

United States Secretary of State James Baker returned from Yugoslavia in 1991 after an attempt to keep the country together and realized that the situation was far beyond the control of the West. When Baker determined that it “didn’t have a dog in that fight,” as he so famously put it, the situation in Bosnia quickly got worse.¹⁴¹ None of Europe’s powers could coordinate their efforts or their policy. European peacekeepers became hostages to various warring parties and prevented air strikes due to their exposed positions. However, once the United States was persuaded to join the coalition and used NATO as the vehicle for coordination, the situation rapidly stabilized. The Dayton Peace Accord settled the case and began the rebuilding.

From hyperinflation in 1995 to EU candidate in 2004, Croatia is the biggest success story of all. Since establishing secure borders, its economy has made remarkable progress. Currently, its GDP per capita \$10,090 (adjusted for power parity) exceeds that of Bulgaria \$8,179 and Romania \$7,930.¹⁴² Both of these nations will enter the EU in January 2007. The EU briefly refused to start accession negotiations in 2005 because of Croatia’s refusal to hand over a single war crimes indictee, General Gotovina. Though considered a war hero by the majority of Croatians, Gotovina was captured later that year clearing the way for a very speedy accession negotiation. It is possible that Croatia could enter the EU as soon as 2009 and is all but assured of entering NATO within the decade.

Bosnia suffered an immense amount of destruction in the conflicts concluded by the Dayton accords. It also has a severe problem with ethnic tensions. These two concerns more than any other have hampered its economic progress. Despite its division into three separate autonomous governments, its

¹⁴¹ David Halberstam, *War in a Time of Peace*, (New York: Scribner, 2001), 46.

¹⁴² Economist Intelligence Unit ViewsWire, “Croatia Politics: Accession in 2009?” Oct 5, 2005.

security concerns seem solved.¹⁴³ Certainly challenges lie ahead for Bosnia, its economy, though improving, remains problematic and eventually its government will have to consolidate and streamline. However, with a minimal, EU-led peacekeeping presence, killing and retribution have come to a halt.

3. Macedonia

Macedonia also shows how important coordination between Brussels and Washington is. In 2001, Macedonia was on the verge of civil war. Its ethnic tensions mirror those of Serbia though on a much smaller scale. The Albanian minority had begun preparations for a guerilla war similar to the KLA's actions in 1998. The EU and United States moved quickly and decisively to bring both groups to the table. Now universities, civil service and the military are integrated and accepted. The government in Skopje is a coalition of Albanians and Slavs. Once again, the economic situation in Macedonia is problematic at best. The poor economic condition is creating a population that wants results faster than it is getting them, but once again the EU provided a carrot and recognized Macedonia for candidate status to aid the government there.¹⁴⁴ NATO has also indicated a willingness to accept Macedonia in its next round of expansion. This tiny landlocked nation is not firmly in the western orbit, yet it has made amazing strides due to Western diplomacy. This is a case of the West intervening to prevent a Chechnya or Kosovo.

4. Kosovo

Though the situation in Kosovo is even more unstable than Macedonia, it should be counted as a success as well. One might easily argue that one of NATO's unstated goals in fighting over Kosovo was to unseat Milosevic. He was

¹⁴³ *The Economist*, "Europe: Peaceful, rebuilt but still Divided; Bosnia Ten Years On," Vol. 3777, no. 8454 (Nov 26, 2005): 46.

¹⁴⁴ Misha Glenny, "A Balkan Success Story," *New Statesman* 18, no. 878 (September 26, 2005): 32.

generally credited with instigating many of the Balkan problems of the 1990s, and most NATO leaders and Madeline Albright especially were anxious to see him go.¹⁴⁵ Though not one of NATO's official objectives, the cause of the Kosovar Albanians was a perfect excuse to discredit him in front of his people. His defeat and indictment were the logical conclusion of the conflict.¹⁴⁶ Again, NATO's action could never have happened without a full consensus on the part of the United States and the states of the EU. The NATO infrastructure was required to accomplish it; thus, NATO was critical.

Given Kosovo's initial condition, the aftermath of the 1999 Kosovo war has gone as well as one could hope. The Kosovar refugees (more than 800,000) have largely returned. Despite the reprisals against Serbs, the beginnings are visible of a democratic government of ethnic Kosovars. As the region could never be governed by Serbia, Kosovo will likely gain some sort of independence over the next year. Ideally it could be joined to a larger nation like Albania or Macedonia, but the prospects of this appear doubtful. Its economy is very poorly situated with unemployment possibly as high as 60%, but the prospect of a settlement will help investment there.¹⁴⁷

The real benefit to NATO's action is political change in Serbia. The level to which EU/NATO influence has been successful is demonstrated in the May 2006 vote of independence by Montenegro. Every other move toward independence from the former Yugoslavia was met with armed hostility, some overcome quickly, some not. Since the overthrow of Milosevic, Serbia has shown a desire to reap the benefits of the European community. To do this, Serbia had to consent

¹⁴⁵ David Halberstam, *War in a Time of Peace*, 376.

¹⁴⁶ David Halberstam, *War in a Time of Peace*, 486.

¹⁴⁷ Beth Kampschror, "Six Years in Transition," *The Christian Science Monitor*. (Nov 23, 2005): 4.

peacefully to Montenegro's referendum. Serbia, Montenegro, Albania, Macedonia and Kosovo are all likely to stay peaceful no matter what the final solution is regarding Kosovo. These countries are controlling organized crime with EU help, tackling corruption and working toward western standards in banking, government, law enforcement and judiciary procedures. None of this is possible without US/EU cooperation.

C. NATO/EU SOLUTIONS

Now that Europe appears conflict-free west of the former Soviet Union it has shown a desire to look east. Romania shares a common language and historic ties with Moldova; thus, it has a very strong interest in seeing the Transnistria issue resolved. Cyprus acceded to the EU in 2004 despite never resolving the division of the island. This frozen conflict has defied solution for more than 30 years due to a lack of commitment by a united West. After the Rose Revolution in 2003, Georgia elected an extremely westward leaning president. He has loudly (and with actions) announced Georgia's desire to enter NATO, and has been effective at shining international light on the issues of frozen conflicts in the Caucasus.

The successes in the Balkans and throughout Central Europe lend even more credibility to a NATO/EU role resolving conflicts in Eastern Europe. Europe has stated in its Security and Defense policy that the two biggest threats worldwide are terrorism and organized crime.¹⁴⁸ All of the frozen conflict areas have significant difficulties with organized crime. As noted in chapter three of this paper, South Ossetia, Abkhazia and Chechnya have been associated with terrorism.

¹⁴⁸ European Security Strategy, Council of Europe, Brussels, 12 December 2003, http://www.consilium.europa.eu/cms3_fo/showPage.ASP?id=266&lang=EN&mode=g (accessed 24 Nov 2006).

There are significant benefits to Russia if she were to resolve these conflicts. First, she will be relieved of the financial burdens associated with them. Russia will also gain by having stronger and more stable states on its southern flank that can enforce the rule of law and control their borders. The decrease in narcotics and arms trafficking alone would justify their resolution. Resolving them would also relieve a significant amount of diplomatic pressure on Russia and could gain her significant concessions in trade and energy policy. Finally the prospect of allowing self-determination over sovereignty sets a dangerous precedent for a country like Russia that is made up of over 100 individual nations.

Turkey stands to reap gains similar to Russia's by settling the conflicts. It currently pays to support North Cyprus and provides military aid to Azerbaijan. Open borders with Armenia will only improve the economy of both nations. Two of the major political issues hindering Turkey's EU bid are its failure to acknowledge South Cyprus and the Armenian genocide. To have any hope of gaining an invitation to the EU it will likely be forced to accept both of these issues.

As Russia and Turkey migrate back into the Western sphere of influence, the EU and the United States will have an increasing opportunity to resolve the conflicts. This is an appropriate time for the EU and NATO to coordinate their positions and present them to the parties involved. As Chechnya is within Russian sovereign territory, resolving this conflict is outside of Washington and Brussels' purview, but the others are well within it. Solutions would require neutral peacekeepers (most likely NATO not UN) to enforce OSCE or NATO resolutions on the various borders. Russia and Turkey cannot be considered neutral in the conflicts that they are prolonging. Their troops would be obliged to

leave the conflict zones. This is likely to occur only through serious diplomatic effort. Very few states are willing to risk war with Russia over the issue, but there are a number of methods of diplomatically introducing troops into the area.

D. CONCLUSION

Prior to World War II border issues in Europe (and elsewhere) were decided by two or three great powers. The solutions reached in this way were not effective because they did not have the breadth of the world's democratic states behind them. The emerging coalition of NATO/EU states does have the legitimacy of most of the world's democracies; thus, solutions reached by consensus of these states will be more just. The track record of success in NATO enlargement and conflict resolution in the Balkans supports this.

Frozen conflicts exist because the coalition of the West did not get involved in them. They are in places with no strategic value, and the third party of Russia or Turkey was given nearly free reign in them. An opportunity to resolve them exists in the near future, but as the populations diverge may cease to exist. At present, both Russia and Turkey have strong incentives to solve them. The longer these issues remain in flux the more difficult to resolve they will be as evidenced by the 30 year division of Cyprus.

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VI. CONCLUSION

Now that Europe has entered an era of unprecedented peace, it is able to extend the bounds of this peace and prosperity. The frozen conflicts that exist at its furthest frontiers are the only impediments to that goal, and the third parties that are preventing resolution are the only obstacles. Unpoliced, ungoverned states will contribute over the long term to crime and instability in Europe, and thus must be settled.

Europe (and the world) used to be hostage to whichever great powers took an interest in a particular piece of real estate. The creation of larger and larger institutions of democratic states has provided an opportunity to resolve conflicts in a forum that can likely reach a consensus. This is the primary difference between NATO/EU and the UN. Organizations of common values and respect for the rule of law are more likely to reach equitable solutions to issues of sovereignty and ethnic determination. NATO also has the capability to enforce a solution by putting creditable peacekeepers on the ground. NATO especially has an excellent track record of influencing Russian policy when all of the Atlantic powers are in agreement.

Limiting the speed of frozen conflict resolution are the factors that allowed the conflicts to become frozen in the first place: their remoteness and strategic insignificance. None of the areas are important to the well being of Western democracies. Aside from the ancillary considerations of organized crime, drugs and various trafficking, the single consideration is Caspian Sea oil out of Azerbaijan and through Georgia. Thus the settlement of these frozen conflicts is more a humanitarian issue than a security issue. Furthermore, the

possible outcomes are not clear cut due to the ambiguity of sovereignty and ethnic self-determination. Each conflict will have to be judged individually.

Russia and Turkey have a wide array of reasons to settle the conflicts of which they are the limiting factors. These include monetary, security, diplomatic, and dangers to their own sovereignty if incorrect precedence is set. If they can be convinced that these issues outweigh domestic political constraints, the solution will be swift. If NATO/EU choose not to coordinate policy and make strong diplomatic efforts, Cyprus stands as an example of what may transpire. Cyprus is a diplomatic nightmare made more so by its endurance as two de facto states. Multiple states and organizations pay for it in a myriad of ways. The UN commits more than \$2B a year to policing the Green Line dividing the sides of the island. Turkey and Greece have spent billions in defense against each other partly in disputes stemming from it. Hundreds of thousands of refugees had to leave their homes and land more than 30 years ago with little hope of returning. Instead of uniting neighbors on a common island, the populations have diverged along ethnic and religious lines to the point that reconciliation is unlikely in the near future.

Among Europe's frozen conflicts, Northern Cyprus (as poor off as it may be) is the one most positioned to govern itself as an independent nation. The divided nature of the island and the ethnic differences between the populations make reunification extremely unlikely. In the long-term it would benefit the European community to join North Cyprus to Turkey if Turkey can achieve EU membership.

Abkhazia is the other region that could possibly survive on its own. Its status as a separate administrative region, distinct ethnicity and location favor it in this regard. Others such as Transnistria, South Ossetia, Kosovo and Nagorno-

Karabakh have little chance of governing themselves free from immense outside influence and organized crime. They must be joined to larger nations. Population, geography, and ethnic considerations logically give these regions to Moldova, Georgia, Albania and Armenia respectively.

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